

487-

LVTHERS FORE-RVNNERS:

OR,

*A CLOVD OF WITNESSES, DE-
posing for the Protestant faith.*

Gathered together in the Historie of the Waldenses:
*Who for diuers hundred yeares before Luther successively op-
posed Popery, professed the truth of the Gospell,
and sealed it with their blood:*

*Being most grievously persecuted, and many thousands of them
martyred, by the tyrannie of that Man of sinne, and his
superstitious Adherents and cruell instruments.*

Diuided into three parts.

*The first concernes their originall beginning, the puritie of their Re-
ligion, the persecutions which they haue suffered throughout all
Europe, for the space of aboue foure hundred and fiftie yeares.*

*The second containes the historie of the Waldenses called Albina-
genses.*

*The third concerneth the doctrine and discipline which hath bene
common amongst them, and the confutation of the doctrine of their
aduersaries.*

All which hath bene faithfully collected out of the Authors
named in the page following the Preface,
By I. P. P. L.

Translated out of French by SAMSON LENNARD.

LONDON,

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of the Starre vnder Saint Peters Church in Corn-
hill, and in Popes-head Alley. 1624.

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TO THE RIGHT HO-
NORABLE WILLIAM EARLE
OF PEMBROOKE, BARON HERBERT
of Cardiff, Lord Parre and Rosse of Can-
dale, Lord Fitz Hugh, Marmion and Saint
Quintin, Lord Chamberlaine of his Maie-
sties House, Lord Gardien of the Stannery,
and Gouvernour of the Towne and Castle
of Portesmouth, Knight of the most noble
order of the Garter, and one of his Maie-
sties most honorable priuie Counsell.

Right Honorable,
The more then honourable
and princely Prophet Dauid,
entring into a due considera-
tion with himselfe, how to
shew himselfe thankfull vnto
God for his great and vn-
speakable mercies and fauours bestowed on him, he
cryeth out, Quid retribuam Domino? what shall
I render vnto the Lord for all his benefits bestowed
on me? and finding nothing could be returned, that
could

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The Epistle

could carrie the least proportion to his bounties, he presently answereth, I will receiue and not render, I will take the cup of saluation, and call vpon the name of the Lord. A strange kinde of retribution it is, to repay by taking more; and yet thus stands the case at this time betwixt your Honor and my selfe. I haue many a time and oft meditated with my selfe how to do your Honor service, and to shew my selfe thankfull in some measure, for that honorable fauour and readinesse I haue euer found in you to do me good, but finding nothing in my selfe that might any way parallel your goodnesse, I was enforced to say with David, I will take and not giue, I will requite by asking more. My humble petition therefore to your Honor is, that you would be pleased to honor these my weake labours with your honorable protection. The reasons that embolden me to request this fauour at your hands, are principally three. First the loue you once bare to my honorable friend and deare cozen Henry Lord Dacres of the South, the want of whom I feeble the lesse, because I finde no want of loue in your selfe towards me for his sake. The second is that loue and dutie I did euer owe to your more then honorable Vncle Sir Philip Sidney, whom I followed in the warres of the Netherland when he receiued his fatal wound. The last and principall is your loue to God and true religion,

Dedicatorie.

gion, which hath made God to loue you, and the world to honour you. The truth of which religion and visibility of this our Church of England, is made manifest in this history for the last foure hundred and fifty yeares: which confutes that common and triuiall objection of the common Aduersarie, that our religion began with Luther. The Lord of his infinite mercie make you euer constant in the profession and defence of the same truth and religion which you haue bene borne and bred in, that as your loue towards God doth daily increase, Gods loue towards you may increase too, to your euerlasting honour in this life, and eternall happinesse in the life to come.

Your Honors in all dutie
to be commanded.

Samson Lennard.

TO



TO THE MOST HIGH AND PVISSANT

LORD, FRANCIS DE BONNE,
Duke, Peere, and Marechal (now Constable)

of France, Lieutenant Generall for his Ma-
iestie in Dauphiney, Lord of Les-
diguieres, &c.



Y very good Lord, this Historie
doth rightly belong vnto you, and
you may challenge it as your due
for many reasons. First because the
most populous Churches of the
waldenses are within the circuite
and enclosure of your gouernment,
& they haue had no time to breath
in with libertie, but onely then, when about some fortie
yeares since you defended them from the outrages of
their enemies both within and without the Realme: God
chearing them vp by his goodnesse, they haue had a sure
protection by your loue and fauour, and a strong bul-
warke vnder your name. Besides the proofes of the
sufferings of their forefathers in passed ages, are the holy
booties and spoyles that were made in the taking of *Am-
brun*, when you reduced that City to the obeidēce of the
King. The Archbishops of that place haue carefully kept
for about these last 4. hundred yeares, the processe and
proceedings against the said *waldesian* Churches, which
hath brought vpon those that persecuted the an euerla-
sting

The Authors Epistle.

sting shame and dishonour; and contrarily haue eterni-
zed the pietie and iudgement of that follower of yours,
that kept the bagge of the said processe from the fire of
the Archbishop of the said place, whose accessse to the
Tower where they were saued, the enemie endeuoured
to withstand.

It was the Lord of *Vulcon* Counsellor to the King in
the Court of Parliament at *Grenoble*, that recoured them
and brought them to our hands, contenting himselfe in
all that conquest with that onely bagge, which inditeth
the diuell himselfe with all his adherents, being reserued
for the good and edification of the Church of God.
All which being well considered, this benefit comes
from you (my Lord) and the fruite of your armes.

Hauiug therefore resolved with my selfe, to bring
this historie to light vnder your name, I haue but
brought it to it first originall, by restoring it to it first be-
nefactor, and dedicating this edifice to him that hath
furnished it with the most substantiall matter. And
herein I haue wrought the more certaintie vnto it, in
that I haue dedicated it to him that hath seene and
knowne more of the state of the said *waldenses* then I
can write. And herein especially doth the worke of God
shew it selfe, when men of one and the same name, and
one and the same Prouince, haue bene so different in
their designs. For it is about three hundred yeares
since, that the noble *Arroas de Bonne* persecuted in *Dau-
phiney* the fathers and grandfathers of those whom our
noble and great *Francis de Bonne* hath restored. Thus
doth the eternall God know, when it pleaseth him, how
out of one and the same stemme to make the light of his
mercies to shine, from whence heretofore sprang no-
thing but darknesse. Long and many happie yeares may
A your

The Authors Epistle.

your Honour continue in the same purpose and intent, to preserve and to love that Church for which Christ Iesus died, and to dedicate the rest of your dayes to his glory, and the edification of those flockes for whom he hath shed his most precious blood. Herein consists all your glory. And that your felicitie may spring from hence, I begge at Gods hands from the bottome of my heart, even with the same affection, which binds me ever to continue

Your Honours most humble
servant,

John Paul Perrin
of Lion.

From Nyons in Dauphiney,
Jan. 1.

THE

THE PREFACE.

THe Church of God in the world, is of higher esteeme then the world it selfe. It is the fruition of our Lord Iesus Christ. He was crucified for it, and without it nothing can be accounted good. But as our Redeemer inviteth vs to enter and to continue therein for our salvation, so Satan endeouureth to make men wander from the right way to their damnation. He blindeth them, to the end they may take that for the Church that hath but the name thereof, holding them in error, seducing them by a worldly glorious pompe, and so makes them disdain the true Church, principally because it is subiect to persecution in the world: wherein they that honour not the Maister cannot cherish the servants: in such sort, that not acknowledging any other Church, then that which hath triumphed, for many ages together, in the blood of those Martyrs whom it hath killed, they demand with great importunitie, what, and in what parts of the world the Catholicke Church hath bene, if that which so long and so peaceably hath obtained the title thereof be not the same? Where was it hid (say they) during the five ages last past? They are instant upon vs, that at the least we shew them some one, in the whole course of so many yeares, that hath beleued that, which in our times hath bene so much extolled under the name of Reformation.

This historie of the Christians called waldenses & Albigenses will satisfie those that can reade it without passion. For therein appeares, that for these last foure hundred and fiftie yeares, there haue bene (especially in Europe) a great number, in diuers kingdomes and countries, which haue made profession of a religion altogether conformable to the word of God, and the doctrine which hath bene receined in the reformed Churches; hauing mourned under the darke-

The Preface.

nesse of Antechrist, wherein they shined like precious stones in a dunghill, and roses among the thornes. They seemed to the world but as abiect men, but God beheld them as his children, and gaue them eyes to see, and eares to heare, and an heart to vnderstand the truth. And as he made way to his iudgements, by leauing those to the spirit of amazednesse that had forsaken his word: so he hath made way to his mercies in withdrawing this remainder of his people from the Temples polluted with idolatries, causing the sacred inward ministerie of his Spirit to worke in them, prouiding them temples, and preserving them from the infection of the externall ministerie, defiled with infinite humane inuentions.

The writings of the said Waldenses and Albingenses, which haue bene miraculously preserved vnto this present time, make good in this historie the puritie of their religion, and iustifie them against the imputations of their aduersaries. They make it appeare vnto the world, that they haue had for the foundation of their faith, the Simbole of the Apostles, allowing also of that of Athanasius: for the rule of their obedience, the eternall law of God: for the substance of their prayers, the Lords prayer. And finally that they haue preserved the Sacraments instituted by our Lord Iesus Christ in the selfesame puritie wherein he first ordained them. And also that they haue alwayes liued vnder a good and holy discipline, carrying themselves in regard of their manners and conuersation according to the same word, which is the rule of their faith. And yet neuer thelesse we shall make it appeare, that for all these things, without which no man can be a true Christian, they haue bene cruelly condemned to death, banished, sacked, burnt, cursed, and persecuted with violence of armes.

Without reason then is it demanded, where the Church was in these ages last past, since it appeares that the almost
infinite

The Preface.

infinite numbers which the Popes for righteousness sake haue put to death, were the Church, how contrarie soeuer to the Church of Rome and the Popes, in what soeuer they were contrary to the Church of God.

Now forasmuch as the first point of the truth which these faithfull Martyrs haue mainained, concerneth God, who is without beginning and without end, without whose command there is nothing true or auailable, it must necessarily follow that the inuentions of men must giue place when God speaketh, especially the truth being as ancient as the lye. And we must also acknowledge, that they that haue beleeued in former ages in one onely God by Iesus Christ, haue bene the true members of the Church, making the Catholike Church, in what part of the world soeuer they haue bene placed. Now it appeares by the doctrine and confession of the faithfull (whereof much is spoken in this historie) that they haue alwayes put their hope in the liuing God, expecting salvation and life by no other meanes but by the Sonne of God. If then for these things they haue bene slaughtered, what wrong is done vnto those that are guiltie of the same sinnes, by those bloudie desires which they haue to banish those out of the world whose mouthes by reason they cannot stop, if seeming to seeke the Church in ages past, they be sent vnto those faithfull whom such as themselves haue put to death. Haue they not rather reason to be thankfull vnto God with vs, for that the violent assaults of Satan haue bene alwayes in vaine, because the Church hath euer continued in the person of Gods seruants victorious by faith, and triumphant by martyrdomme: which we haue not measured in this historie according to the crueltie of their punishment, but the iustice and goodnesse of the cause? It will adde much to the glory of God, to follow this bloud by the trace, gathering together the certaine proofes of the faith and constancie of millions of
A 3 witnesses,

Rule of obedience

The Preface.

witnesses, who haue sealed the truth with the losse of their owne liues. They whose hearts God shall moue to enlarge this historie, by the true narration of what hath passed touching this subiect, in those places where it hath pleased the Lord to make them grow & increase (as there is no Kingdome, State, Principallitie, nor almost Citie, towne, or village in Europe, where this innocent blood hath not bene shed) shall adde much to the edification of his Church, when many shall contribute to the notice thereof that which God hath done in passed ages, that we may know where and how he hath preserved it.

In this holy employment, we need not doubt of the venome of wicked tongues, the scoffes of Atheists and profane persons. A stomacke ill affected loues nothing but what is contrary vnto it, and the wicked haue nothing in esteeme, but what is conformable to their vitious humour. If the quippes of the wicked should haue bene an hinderance to the seruice we owe vnto God and to his Church, we had giuen ouer this historie before we had written three lines thereof: for it hath bene snarled at by diuers vpon the first bruit thereof, what then may we thinke they will do, when they shall see that they neuer thought we could so truly haue maintained. Doubtlesse passion will extort from malignant mindes the suggestions of the malignant, in counterchange whereof (hauing aduertised thee, gentle Reader, that in the first page and inscription of this historie, thou hast the name, the diuision, the intention, the fruite, and the end, in a few lines) I will pray to the eternall God for those that wrong vs, that he would be pleased to make them know the truth, and giue vnto vs whom he hath placed and planted in his house, after the conflicts of this life, that portion which he hath reserved in heauen by his welbeloued Sonne our Lord Iesus Christ, to whom be all honour, glory, and power for euer and euer. Amen.

The

The names of those Authors cited in this historie that haue bene aduersaries to the Waldenses.

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Alphonfus de Castro.	Constitutions of Pope Clement the fourth.
B.	D.
Baronius in his Annals.	Dubrauius.
Saint Bernard.	E.
Bellarmin.	Eccius.
Bernard de Girard Lord of Hailan.	G.
Bodin.	Gaspard Bruschi.
C.	Gualter Monke a Iesuite.
Carpentras his Boniour.	Guichardin.
Claudius Rubis in his historie of Lion.	Guido de Perpignan.
Claudius Seissel.	Godefredus Monachus.
The Councell of Latran.	H.
The Councell of Vaur.	Hofius.
The Councell of Mompelier.	History of Languedoc.
The Councell of Thoulouse.	I.
The Councell of Vienna.	Iaques de Riberia.
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Constitutions of king Roger.	John le Maire.
Constitutions of Pope Alexander the third.	K.
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	Lewis 12. king of France.
	M.
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	N.

N
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S
The Sea of histories.
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France.
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Vesembecius.

*The names of those Authors cited in this historie that
haue made profession of Reformation.*

A
Aldegonde.
B
Bullinger.
C
A Catalogue of the witnesses
of truth.
Chassagnon.
Constans vpon the Reuela.
E
Esrom Rudiger.
H
History of the Martyrs of our
times.
Historie of the estate of the
Church.
Historie of the Churches of
France.
Holagaray his historie of Foix.
I
The Inuentory of Serres.
Ioachim Camerarius.
L
Lauatter.
Lewis Camerarius.
Luther.
M
Memorials of
Hanibal Oli-
uier.
Vignaux.
Georg Merel.
P
La Papoliniere.
R
A Reuiew of the Councell of
Trent.
T
Theodor Beza.
V
Viret.
Vignier in his Histori-
call Li-
brarie.

THE



THE HISTORIE OF THE WALDENSES, COMMONLY CALLED IN ENGLAND LOLLARDS:

The first Booke.

CHAP. I.

*That God in all times hath raised vp labourers for the gather-
ing together of his Saints. At what time Valdo began to
teach, and with what fruite: what he was, and all they that
from his name are called Waldenses.*



OD hath neuer left himselfe
without witnesses, but from
time to time he raiseth vp instru-
ments to publish his grace, en-
riching them with necessarie
gifts for the edification of his
Church, giuing them his holy
Spirit for their guide, and his
truth for a rule, to the end they
may discern the Church which began in *Abel*, from that
which began in *Caine*: As also teaching them to define
B the

the Church by the faith, and the faith by the Scriptures, strengthening them in the midst of their greatest persecutions, and making them to know, that the crosse is profitable; so long as the faithfull change by that meanes earth for heauen, and the children of God are not lost when being massacred and cast into the fire by a course of iustice, we may find in their bloud and ashes the seed of the Church.

That which hath bene obserued in all ages, hath after a more particular manner appeared amongst those Christians that are called *Waldenses*, who were raised in a time when Satan held men in ignorance, hauing wrapt the greatest part of those that call themselves Christians in that great sinne of the world, I meane Idolatrie, Kings and Princes imploying their authoritie for the establishment thereof, appointing all those to the slaughter that would exempt themselves from the wounds due vnto Idolaters.

This was about the yeare of our Lord a thousand one hundred and threescore, at what time the punishment of death was inflicted vpon all those that did not beleue, that (the words of consecration being pronounced by the Priest) the body of our Lord Iesus Christ was in the Hoste vnder the accidents of the bread, the roundnesse and whitenesse, yea the very bodie, as great and as large as it was vpon the crosse, the bread vanishing, and being transubstantiated into the flesh of Christ. At what time it was likewise enioyned to adore the Hoste, to crouch vnto it, to bow the knees before it: yea it was called God, and men did beate their breasts before it, and locked it vp in a boxe to worship it, as they still vse euen at this day.

This doctrine being altogether vnknowne to the Apostles, who neuer spake word of any such mysterie, as also in the Primitiue Church, wherein there was neuer any

Doctor

Doctor that taught this expiatorie sacrifice for the liuing and for the dead, occasioned many Christians to enter into a detestation thereof, chusing rather to suffer a temporall death by resisting such Idolatrie, then by consenting thereunto to suffer in hell.

Peter Valdo a citizen of Lions shewed himselfe most couragious in the opposition of this inuention, taxing therewithall diuerse other corruptions, which with time crept into the Church of Rome, affirming that she had lost the faith of Iesus Christ, that she was that whore of Babylon, that barren fig. tree, which our Sauour had long before cursed.

That we were not to obey the Pope, in as much as he was not the head of the Church.

That Monkerie was a stinking carrion, and the marke of the Beast.

That Purgatorie, Masses, dedication of Temples, worshipping of Saints, commemoration of the dead, were no other then the inuentions of the diuell, and the snares of Auarice.

Valdo was so much the more attentiuely hearkned vnto, because he was in high esteeme for his learning and pietie, as also for his great bountie towards the poore, not onely nourishing their bodies with his materiall bread, but their soules with the spirituall, exhorting them principally to seeke Iesus Christ the true bread of their soules.

Many Historiographers do write, that he had a resolution to leade an vnblameable life, approaching as neare as he could to that of the Apostles, & that vpon a mournfull vnluckie accident that fell out v unexpected, and it was this. Being one euening in the company of some of his friends, after supper passing the time with talke, and refreshing themselves, one of the company fell downe dead

B 2

vpon

See the Sea of Histories. fol.

203. 0 0

Claud. Rubis

in his histo-

ric of the Citie

of Lions. p. 259.

in de iur. lib.

Lois Cam. in

his hist. of the

orthod. bre-

thren of Bohe-

mia. p. 7.

Guido de Pe-

rignan in his

flower of Chro-

nicles.

The Catal. of
witnesses of the
truth. p. 535.
Simon de Noion
in his booke of
the names of
the Doctors of
the Church.

vpon the ground, with which sudden accident all that were present being strangely affrighted, *Valdo* amongst the rest was touched to the quicke, and by this dart of Gods iustice was wrought to an extraordinary amendment of life, applying himselfe wholly to the reading of the Scriptures, seeking in them his saluation, and sometimes consulting the writings of the ancients, he continually instructed those poore people that resorted vnto him for almes.

The Archbishop of *Lions* called *Iohn de Belles Mayons*, being aduertised that *Valdo* made profession of teaching the people, boldly blaming the vice, luxury, excesse and arrogancie of the Pope and his Clergie, inhibited him from teaching, especially for that being a lay person, he exceeded the limies of his profession and condition of life, and therefore that he should not continue therein vnder paine of excommunication, & proceeding against him as against an Hereticke.

Valdo replied, that he could not hold his peace in a matter of so high importance as the saluation of men, and that he would rather obey God, who had enioyned him to speake, then man who had commanded him to hold his peace.

Vpon this answer the Archbishop endeauoured to haue him apprehended, but that could not be, because *Valdo* hauing many kinsfolke and friends, was beloued of many, and so continued closely in *Lions*, by the fauour and protection of his friends for the space of three yeares.

Pope *Alexander* the third of that name, hauing vnderstood that in *Lions* there were diuers persons that called into question his soueraigne authoritie ouer the whole Church, fearing that this beginning of rebellion might

might giue some blow to his supreme dignitie & power, cursed *Valdo* and his adherents, and commanded the Archbishop to proceed against them by Ecclesiasticall censures, euen to the viter extirpation of them.

Claud. Rubis saith, that *Valdo* and his followers were wholly chased out of *Lions*, and *Albert de Capitaneis* saith that they could not be wholly driuen out. Other things we could not learne of this first persecution, but onely that they that escaped out of *Lions*, who of *Valdo* were called *Waldenses*, followed him, and afterwards did spread themselues into diuerse companies and places.

Claud. Rubis in
his hist. pa. 269.

Albert de Capitaneis
in his booke of
the original of
the *Vaudois*.

CHAP. II.

That the dispersion of *Valdo* and his followers, was the meanes that God vsed to spread the doctrine of *Valdo* almost throughout all Europe.



Libert de Capitaneis saith, that *Valdo* retired himselfe into *Dauphiney* at his departure from *Lions*, and *Claud. de Rubis* affirmeth that he conuerled in the mountaines of the said Province, with certaine rude persons, yet capable to receiue the impressions of his beleefe. And true it is that the Churches of the *waldenses* which haue continued very long, and whereof there are yet a greater number then in any other place of Europe, are they of *Dauphiney*, and the bordering race or linage of them, that is to say, those of *Piémount*, and *Prouence*. *Vignier* saith, that he retyred into *Picardie*, where in a short time, he did so much good, that there were diuerse persons that did adhere vnto his doctrine, for which

Vignier in the 3.
part of his hi-
storically Biblio-
theque. pa. 130.

Dubranus in his
historic of Bo-
hemia, Booke
14.

Shortly after they suffered great persecutions. For as Du-
branius saith sometime after, King *Philip Augustus* en-
forced by the Ecclesiasticall persons, tooke armes against
the *Waldenses* of *Picardie*, razed and ouerthrew three
hundred houses of gentlemen that followed their part,
and destroyed certaine walled Townes, pursuing them
into *Flanders*, whither they were fled, and caused a num-
ber of them to be burnt.

This persecution enforced many to flie into *Germany*,
where shortly after they were grievously persecuted,
namely, in the countrie of *Alsatia*, and along the *Rhine* by
the Bishops of *Mayence* and of *Strasburge*, who caused
to be burnt in the towne of *Enigne* thirtie five Burges-
ses of *Mayence* in one fire, and at *Mayence* eightene, who
with great constancie suffered death. And at *Strasburge*
fourscore were burnt at the instance of the Bishop of
the place. These persecutions multiplied in such sort by
the edification that they receiued who saw them dye,
praying God, and assuring themselves of his mercy, that
notwithstanding the continuall persecutions, there were
in the County of *Passau*, and about *Bohemia*, in the yeare
one thousand three hundred and fiftene, to the number
of fourescore thousand persons that made profession of
the same faith. They had likewise goodly Churches in
Bulgaria, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Hungarie*, as *Math.*
Paris reports, instructed and gouerned by one *Barthel-*
mew borne at *Carcaſsonne*. The *Albegeois* on the other side
professing the same faith, haue filled many countries, vn-
till in the end, they were almost wholly extirpated, as shall
appare in their particular historie.

Math. Paris in
his historie of
the life of king
Hen. 3. in the
yeare 1223.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

By what names the Waldenses haue bene called by their ad-
uersaries: and with what faults and offences they haue
bene charged.



He Monks, Inquisitors and mortall ene-
mies to the *Waldenses*, not being content to
deliuer them euery day to the secular power,
they haue besides layed vpon them many
opprobrious imputations, affirming them
to be the authors of all the heresies in the world which
they endeououred to purge, imputing all those monstrous
abuses that they had forged onely to the *Waldenses*, as if
they onely had bene the receptacle of all errours.

First therefore they called them, of *Valdo* a citizen of
Lions, *Waldenses*, of the countrie of *Albi*, *Albigensis*.

Vandois.
Albigensis.

And because such as did adhere to the doctrine of *Val-*
do, departed from *Lions* spoiled of all humane meanes,
and the most part hauing left their goods behind them,
in derision they called them the beggers of *Lions*.

In *Dauphiney* they were called in mockerie *Chai-*
gnards.

Chaignards.

And because some part of them passed the *Alpes*, they
were called *Tramontaines*.

Tramontaines.

And from one of the disciples of *Valdo*, called *Ioseph*,
who preached in *Dauphiney* in the diocesse of *Dye*, they
were called *Iosephists*.

Iosephists.

In *England* they were called *Lollards*, of the name of
one *Lollard* who taught there.

Lollards.

Of two priests who taught the doctrine of *Valdo* in
Languedoc, called *Henry*, and *Esperon*, they were called
Henri-

Henri-

Henriciens.
Esperonistes.

Henriciens, and Esperonistes.

Arnoldistes.
Siccars.

Of one of their pastors who preached in *Albegeois*, named *Arnold Hos*, they were called *Arnoldistes*.

Fraticelli.

In *Prouence* they were called *Siccars*, a word of Pedlers french which signifieth Outpurse.

In *Italie* they were called *Fraticelli*, as much to say, as Shifters, because they liued in true loue and concord together.

Insabathas.

And because they obserued no other day of rest but the Sabbath dayes, they called them *Insabathas*, as much to say, as they obserued no Sabbath.

Patareniens, or
Paturins.

And because they were alwayes exposed to continuall sufferings, from the Latin word *Pati*, which signifieth to suffer, they called them *Patareniens*.

Passagenes.

And forasmuch as like poore passengers, they wandred from one place to another, they were called *Passagenes*.

Gazares.

In *Germany* they were called *Gazares*, as much to say, as execrable and egregiously wicked.

Turlupins.

In *Flanders* they were called *Turlupins*, that is to say, dwellers with wolues, because by reason of their persecutions they were constrained many times to dwell in woods and desarts.

Toulousains.
Lombards.
Piccards.
Lionistes.
Bohemiens.

Sometimes they were called by the names of those countries and regions where they dwelt, as of *Albi*, *Albigens*: of *Toulouze*, *Toulousains*, of *Lombardie*, *Lombards*, of *Piccardie*, *Piccards*, of *Lion*, *Lionistes*, of *Bohemia*, *Bohemiens*.

Sometimes to make them more odious, they made them cōfederates with ancient heretickes, but yet vnder more then ridiculous pretexes. For because they made profession of puritie in their liues, and of faith, they called them *Cathares*. And because they denied the bread which the priest shewed in the Masse to be God, they called

Cathares.

called them *Arriens*, as denying the diuinitie of the eternall Sonne of God. And because they maintained that the authoritie of Emperours and Kings depends not vpon the authoritie of the Pope, they called them *Manicheens*, as appointing two Princes. And for other causes which they fained, they called them *Gnostiques*, *Cataphrigiens*, *Adamites*, and *Apostoliques*.

Sometimes they spitefully abused them. *Matthew Paris* calls them *Ribalds*. The compiler of the Treasure of histories calles them *Buggerers*. *Rubis* saith, that when a man speakes of a forcerer, he calls him *Vadois*. And that which is more, he takes vpon him to proue that they are so. To which temeritie it shall be necessarie to answer in his due place, where they shall be cleared from all those impostures which their enemies haue layed vpon them, out of those bookes from which we haue gathered that which followeth.

First they impose vpon them, that ancient calumnie wherewith the painims defamed the Christians of the Primatiue Church, that is, that they assembled themselves in the night time, in corners and lurking holes, and that the Pastour commanded the lights should be put out, saying, *Qui potest capere capiat*, that is, catch who catch can, whereupon euery man endeuoreth to fasten vpon whom he can, without any respect of bloud or parentage, and that the lights being put out, they committed abominable incests; many times the child with his mother, the brother with his sister, and the father with his owne daughter: adding moreouer, that they were to vnderstand, that the children begotten by such copulations were most fit to be Pastours.

Secondly, they haue charged them that they maintaine that a man may put away his wife when he will, and

Arriens.

Manicheens.
Gnostiques.
Cataphrigiens.
Adamites.
Apostoliques.

Ribalds.
Buggerers.
Sorcerers.

This imposture is found in the booke of *Albertus de Capitaneis*, of the originall of the *Vadois*, pa. 2.

In the booke of *Ramerius*, de forma hæreticandi hæreticos. fol. 36.

Item in the accusation of the Priests of *Bohemia*, which they make to the king *Ladislaus* against the *Vadois*.

Rai, ibid. fol. 37.

*Claud. Rubis in
his historie of
Lion. pa. 269.*

*S. Bernard in
his Homily 66,
vpon the Can-
ticles.*

Albert. ibid.

Albert. ibid.

Rain. fol. 36.

*Rain. ibid. fol.
22. article 32.*

Albert. ibid.

Idem. ibid.

*Rain. in Summa
fol. 12.*

*Idem lib. de for-
ma heret. fol. 21.*

*Albert. de origi-
ne Pauid. fol. 4.*

the wife her husband to follow that sect.

The third calumnie that they charge them withall is, that they haue communitie of all things amongst them, euen of their wines and all.

The fourth is, that they reiect the baptisme of little infants.

The fifth, that they adore their Pastors, prostrating themselves before them.

The sixth, that they maintaine that it is not lawfull to sweare, for any cause whatsoeuer.

The seventh, that they maintaine that the Pope doth sinne mortally when he makes warre against the Turke, and that they likewise sinne mortally that do obey him, when by them he makes warre against heretickes.

The eight calumnie is, that they vse no reuerence towards holy places, and that he sins not more grievously that burneth a Church, then he that breakes into any other priuate house.

The ninth, that they maintaine that the Magistrate ought not to condemne any to death, and that they that do it sinne mortally: and that they maintaine this error, to the end they may escape the hands of the Iudge, and go vnpunished.

The tenth, that the lay-man being in the state of grace, hath more authoritie then the Prince that liues in his sinne.

The eleuenth, that with the *Manicheens* they ordaine two Princes, that is, one good God, the creator of good, and one bad, that is, the diuell, the creator of euill.

The twelfth, that whatsoeuer is done with a good intention, is good, and that euery one shall be saued in that which he doth in that said good intention.

The thirteenth, that it is a meritorious worke to persecute

secure the Priests of the Church of *Rome*, the Prelates and their subiects. And that a man may without sinne hurt them in their persons or goods, and withhold their tenthes from them without scruple of conscience.

The last is taken out of the booke of *Rubis*, where he saith, that *Valdo* and his Pastors retired themselves into *Dauphiney* in the vale *Pute*, and the valley *Angrongne*, where they found certaine people rather like sauage beasts then men, suffering themselves to be mocked and abused, and where they became, saith he, one like another, and such as rid post vpon a besom. Adding therewithall (to bring within the compasse of his calumnies, the Townes, Cities, & States where the Gospell is receiued in our times:) And to say the truth (saith he) these are two things that commonly follow the one the other, heresie and sorcerie, as it is verified in our times, in those Cities and Prouinces which haue given entertainment vnto heresie.

*Claud. Rubis in
his historie of
Lion, booke 3.
pa. 269.*

CHAP. IIII.

How the waldenses are iustified and cleared from the calumnies contained in the former Chapter, by those writings which they haue left.

Here *Waldenses* of *Bohemia*, whether they were the remainder of that people that followed *Valdo*, as some are of opinion that he ended his dayes in *Bohemia*, alter he had retired himselfe out of *Germany*, and escaped the hands of the Bishops of *Mayence* and *Strasburge*: or whether they were such persons as afterwards pro-
fessed

fessed the same faith which the *waldenses* did, it is without all doubt that they were grievously persecuted by king *Ladislaus* king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*: and we haue in our owne hands an Apologie of the said *Waldenses*, which they sent vnto the king whom they called *Lancelau*, to iustifie themselves against sundry complaints which were made against them by their aduersaries: as also we haue a booke with this inscription, *Aiço es la causa del nostre despartiment de la Gleisa Romana*. That is to say, Behold the cause of our separation from the Church of *Rome*. And forasmuch as the answer to the first calumnie, that is, that they assembled themselves in darke corners, where the candles being put out, their aduersaries do affirme they committed villanous incests, we haue copied out the answer of the said Apologie in their owne tearmes and language, for the more certaintie, and better edification.

This Apologie the author Iean Paul Perrin set downe in two columnes, the one French, the other in the language of the Waldenses, which for breuitie sake we set downe onely in English, referring those vnto the French booke that desire to see the originall.

In the letter to
king *Ladislaus*.
pa. 2.

AMong other things (say they) they publish, like an agrie barking curres, that it is a law and common amongst vs to say, Yeeld thy selfe to whomsoever shall request thee: and that we take our pleasures in darke caues and corners with whomsoever shall present themselves vnto vs, whether they be our mothers, or daughters, or wiues, or sisters.

How true this is, it may appeare in that God hauing kept and preserved vs for aboue these forty yeares past,

it

it hath bene neuer knowne that there hath bene any whoredome amongst vs that hath escaped unpunished, or any such villanie committed. In such sort that our liues and cariages condemne those that accuse vs.

And for as much as the *waldenses* speake this of themselves, and to their owne praise, and therefore this their iustification may seeme but weake, looke a little into that which they haue written elsewhere against whordome, which may suffice to shew, that they were very far from this diabolically affection to debase themselves by incests. The sinne of luxury is very pleasing to the diuell, displeasing vnto God, and iniurious against our neighbours, because therein a man obeyeth the basest part of his bodie, rather then God who hath preferred it. A foolish woman doth not onely take from a man his good, but himsele too. He that is giuen to this vice keepes faith to no man, and therefore *David* caused his faithfull seruant to be slaine, that he might enioy his wife. *Amon* defiled his sister *Tamar*. This vice consumes the heritage of many, as it is said of the prodigall child, that he wasted his goods liuing luxuriously. *Balaam* made choise of this sinne, to prouoke the children of *Israel* to sinne, by occasion whereof there died twenty foure thousand persons. This sinne was the cause of the blindness of *Sampson*: it peruerred *Salomon*: and many haue perished by the beautie of a woman. Prayer, and fasting, and distance of place are the remedies against this sinne. For a man may overcome other vices by combating with them, but in this a man is neuer victorious but by flying from it, and not approaching neare vnto it: whereof we haue an example in *Ioseph*. It is therefore our duties to pray daily to the Lord, that he will keepe vs farre from the sinne of luxury, and giue vs vnderstanding and chastitie.

Their booke of
the remedie a-
gainst the sinne
of luxury. Chap
21.

C 3

Against

See their book
of Vertues, in
the Chapter of
marriage.

Against the second imposture, that they maintaine that a man may put away his wife when it pleaseth him, they say that marriage is a knot that cannot be vntied but by death, except it be for fornication, as our Sauour Christ saith. And Saint Paul 1. Corinth. 7. saith, That the wife is not to depart from her husband, nor the husband from his wife.

See the booke
of the Walden-
ses intituled of
vertues in the
Chapter of ma-
riage.

To the third calumnie, touching the communitie of goods and wines, they say concerning marriage, that it was ordained by God long since in the terrestriall Paradise, and that it is a good remedie against whoredome. And that Saint Paul speaking thereof saith, *Let every man haue his wife, and every woman her husband*: As also that the husband ought to loue his wife as Christ loued his Church, and that the married couple ought to liue together in holinesse with their children, bringing them vp in the feare of God.

As touching goods, every man hath possessed his owne proper substance at all times and in all places. In *Dauphiney*, when the Archbishops of *Ambrun*, *John* and *Rostain*, had spoiled them of their goods: when the Lord of *Argentiere*, and *Montainar*, and *Arreas* of *Bonne* had dispossessed the *Waldenses* that dwelt in the valley of *Fraissimere* and of *Argentiere* of their goods and possessions, the restitution of every mans inheritance was prosecuted by the particular persons from whom they had taken them. The *Waldenses* of *Provence* do demand at this present of the Pope, the goods and lands which haue bene annexed to their demaine, and taken from them by confiscation, every particular person making faith for every part and parcell of goods and lands which had descended vpon them from their ancestors, the *Waldenses* time out of mind, they neuer hauing had any such commu-

It appeareth by
the proces that
we haue in our
hands, by which
it appeares that
Lewes the 12.
of that name,
condemned the
vsurpers of the
goods of the
Waldenses to a
restitution.

It appeares by
the treatises of
Meneobe, and
other instances
made by the
Waldenses of
Provence.

communitie amongst them, that might any way derogate from that lawfull proprietie which euery one had to his owne lands.

The fourth calumnie was touching Baptisme, which, it is said, they denied to little infants: but from this imputation they quit themselves as followeth.

In the booke of
the Waldenses
intituled the
Spiritual Alma-
nacks. fol. 45.

The time and place of those that are to be baptized is not ordained, but the charitie and edification of the Church and congregation must serue for a rule therein, &c.

And therefore they to whom the children were nearest allied brought their infants to be baptized, as their parents, or any other whom God had made charitable in that kind.

True it is, that being constrained for some certaine hundred yeares to suffer their children to be baptized by the Priests of the Church of *Rome*, they deferred the doing thereof as long as they could possibly, because they had in detestation those humane inuentions which were added to that holy Sacrament, which they held to be but pollutions therof. And forasmuch as their Pastors (which they called Barbes) were many times abroad employed in the seruice of their Churches, they could not haue the Sacrament of Baptisme administred to their infants by their owne Ministers: for this cause they kept them long from Baptisme, which the Priests perceiuing, and taking notice of, charged them thereupon with this imposture: which not onely their aduersaries haue beleueed, but diuerse others who haue well approoued of their life and faith in all other points.

The fifth calumnie was, that they adored their Pastors, prostrating themselves before them. To iustifie the *Waldenses* from this imposture, there needs no more, but that the

the Reader will be pleased to take the paines to reade th at which they haue written touching the adoration of one onely God, in the exposition that they made in the booke of their doctrine vpon the first Comman dement of the Law of God. There you shall find that they haue giuen much honour euen to their Pastors, as vn to those that keepe the word of Reconciliation, entertaining them charitably, accompting themselues obliged thereunto for conscience sake; but that they euer had any intention to giue that worship to the creature that is onely due vn to the Creator, can neuer be made good but by way of calumnie. Howsoever *Albert de Capitaneis* their deadly enemy in the Diocesse of *Turin*, would haue extorred from them, that they adored their Pastors, which he could neuer enforce them to confesse.

It appeareth by the proceffe formed by the said *Albert* against the Waldenses of the Alpes.

In their booke intituled the Spirituall Almanacke, in the exposition of the third commandment.

The sixt calumnie was, that they maintained, that it was not lawfull to sweare at all.

They say and affirme, that there are lawfull oathes tending to the honour of God and the edification of our neighbours, alledging that place in the 6. Heb. 16. *That men sweare by the greater, and an oath for confirmation is to them an end of all strife.* As also they alledge, that it was enioyned the people of Israel to sweare by the name of the eternall God, Deut. 6. 13. and the examples of those oathes that past betweene *Abimelec* and *Isaac*, Gen. 26. 31. and the oath of *Iacob*, Gen. 31. 53.

The seuenth calumnie was, to make them odious to the people, as if they had preferred the peace with the Turke, before that with the Church & the kingdome of Christ, affirming that they maintained, that the Pope did mortally sinne when he sends an expedition of souldiers with the badge of the crosse vpon their Cassockes or Coatarmour against the *Sarazens*.

For

For their iustification herein, we must obserue, that they complaine not of the enterprise of warre against the *Turkes*, but of those spoiles that the Popes make of the goods of the Church and other diuine graces vnder the pretence thereof, abusing the ignorant people with their Bulls and Benedictions, who too willingly receive their lies and inuentions, buying them at a deare rate. As also they thinke hardly of it, that the Pope should send out his *Croisades*, his crossed souldiers being strangers, to pursue them as heretickes, before they be heard or conuincd to be such.

But they are not the onely men that condemne this avarice, which the reuenging spirits of the Popes haue shewed by their *Croisades*.

Paulus Langius a Germane Historiographer layes an imputation vpon *Leo* the tenth, that he leuied great summes of money vnder a pretence of warre against the *Turkes*, which he bestowed shortly after vpon thirte Cardinals, which he had newly created.

Guicciardine noteth in his Historie, that the selfe same Pope imposed great exactions vpon the people, the benefit whereof fell into the lap of his sister *Magdalen*, and that all that leuie of money was but to satisfie the avarice of a woman, and that the Bishop of *Aremboldo* was thought by him a commissarie worthy such an action, to put it in execution with all manner of extortion.

Alexander the fourth conuerted the vow of *Hierusalem*, to the vow of *Pouille*, that is to say, the vow of reuenge: For he gaue power to his Legats to absolve the King of England, *Henry* the third by name, dispensing with his vow of the crosse for *Hierusalem*, vpon condition that he should go to *Pouille*, to make warre against *Manfred Frederic* Emperour not long before. It is the Histo-

D

riographer

In the booke of the causes of their separation from the Church of Rome, p. 235

Paul. Lan. in his Chronicle of France 1513. See the examination of the Councell of Trent, lib. 1. c. 7.

A part of Naples, whose inhabitants are held very dangerous.

Math. Paris in his Historie of England.

See the first booke of the examination of the Councell of Trent. cap. 5.

In the booke of the causes of their separation frō the Church of Rome. p. 125

riographer *Math. Paris*, that setteth downe the complaint that then was made, that is to say, that the tenths imployed for the succour of the holy Land, were taken away and conuerted to the reliefe of *Pouille*, against the Christians.

The eight calumnie was, that they vsed no reuerence towards holy and consecrated places, holding that that man sinned not more grieuously that burneth a Church, then he that breakes into any other house.

They say, that neither the place, nor the chaire, make a man the more holy, and they haue maintained that they deceiue themselues much that comfort themselues, or presume the more, because of the dignitie of the place: for what place more high then Paradise? what place more secure then heauen? and yet neuerthelesse man was banished out of Paradise for sinning there; and the Angels were throwne from heauen, to the end they might be examples to those that came after, and to teach them, that it is not the place, nor the greatnesse nor dignitie thereof, that makes a man holy, but the innocencie of his life.

Against the ninth calumnie, that is to say, that they defend that the Magistrate ought not to condemne any to death, they say:

In the booke of the Waldenses entituled The light of the treasure of faith. fol. 214.

It appeareth by the complaint they made to

That it is writtē, that we are not to suffer the malefactor to liue, and that without correction and discipline doctrine serues to no purpose, neither should iudgements be acknowledged nor sinnes punished. And therefore iust anger is the mother of discipline, and patience without reason, the seed of vices, and permitteth the wicked to digresse from truth and honestie.

True it is that they haue found fault that the Magistrates should deliuer them to death, without any other knowledge

knowledge of the cause, then the simple report of Priests and Monkes, who were parties and iudges, insomuch that hauing discouered the abuse which they brought into the Church, they condemned them for heretickes, and deliuered them to the secular power (so they call their Magistrates.) Now this seemed vnto them a cruell simplicity in the said Magistrates, to giue faith to persons passionate and not indifferent, such as the aforesaid Priests were, and to put to death so many poore innocent people, neuer hearing them or examining the cause.

The tenth calumnie, was to make them odious to Kings and Princes, that is to say, that a lay man in the state of grace, had greater authoritie then a Prince liuing in his sinnes.

Against this imposture they affirme, that every one must be subiect to those that are in authoritie, obey them, loue them, be at peace with them, honour them with double honour, in subiection, and obedience, and readinesse, paying vnto them that which is their due.

The eleuenth calumnie was grounded vpon that assertion of the *Waldenses*, that the Pope had no authoritie ouer the Kings and Princes of the earth, who depend immediately vpon God alone. For from thence they take occasion to call them *Manichees*, as appointing two Princes.

Against this imputation they say, We belecue that the holy Trinitie hath created all things visible and inuisible, and that he is Lord of things celestially, terrestially, and infernally, as it is said in *S. Iohn*, *All things are made by him, and without him nothing is made.*

The beginning of this calumnie was taken out of the Extrauagantes of Pope *Boniface 8.* who subiecting the au-

the King *Ladislaus*, King of Hungary and Bohemia.

In the booke of the causes of their separation frō the Church of Rome. p. 41.

In the booke of the treasure of faith. art. 2.

thoritie of Emperours vnto his, faith of his owne. *Qui-
cunque huic potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit, nisi duo
(sicut Manicheus) fingat esse principia. De Maiorit. & obe-
dientia, Can. Vnam sanctam. l. 1. tom. 8.*

The twelfth calumnie imports thus much, that they held that whatsoeuer is done with a good intention is good, and that euery one shall be saued in whatsoeuer is done with the said good intention.

Rain. lib. de for-
ma heretic. art.
38.

To this imposture we need no other answer then that which the Monke *Raynerius* (who was alwaies their back-
friend) saith elsewhere, that is, that they maintaine that euery man is saued by his faith, which he calls a Sect. It is very necessary that a lyer should haue a better memorie, then to affirme things contradictorie.

And to shew that they made no profession of any such beleefe, that may suffice that they haue said against Anti-
christ; That he hath brought these errors into the Church vnder a colour of good intention, and a shew of faith.

The thirteenth calumnie was, that they maintaine that a man may kill, or detaine from the Priests their tithes, without scruple of conscience.

It is certaine that if the *Waldenses* had power to employ their tithes to some other vse then to the nourishment of those whom they find to be dumbe dogs, drow-
sie watchmen, slow bellies, seducing and being seduced, they had done it: but there was neuer any as yet that hath occasioned the least troubles that may be in that regard. It well appeareth that in whatsoeuer depended on their owne wils, they haue neuer offered more or lesse vnto those people, taking no thought for their Masses and Trentals after their death: the which the Priests com-
plaine of, and from thence take occasion to accuse them for

It appeareth by
the processe a-
gainst the Wal-
denses of Dau-
phiné, by *Albert
de Capitaneis*, &
other Monkes
Inquisitors.

for hereticke. And as touching reuenge, heare what they say.

The Lord knowing that we shall be deliuered, saith: Beware of men: but he doth not teach or counsell any of his chosen, to kill any, but rather to loue their enemies. When his disciples said vnto him, in the ninth of *S. Luke*, *Wilt thou that we command that fire come downe from hea-
uen, and consume them?* Christ answered and said, *Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.* Againe the Lord saith vnto *Peter*, *Put vp thy sword into thy sheath, &c.* For temporall aduersities are to be contemned, and patient-
ly to be endured, for there happeneth nothing therein that is new. We are here the Lords floore, to be beaten, as the corne when it is separated from the chaffe.

In the booke of
the Waldenses
intituled of Tri-
bulations. p. 274

The last calumnie of the *Waldenses*, which we haue gathered out of the writings of their aduersaries, is that which *Claud. Rubis* layes vpon them as a foule aspersi-
on, in his Historie of the Citie of *Lions*. That being retired vnto the Alpes, at their departure from *Lions* they be-
came like the rest of the people of that countrey, besonne riders.

Claud. Rubis
in his histo-
rie of *Lions*. p.
269.

And he is not content to tie himselfe to the *Vandois* onely, but he addeth, These are things that ordinarily follow one another, Heresie and Sorcerie, as it is verified (saith he) in our times in those Cities and Prouinces that haue giuen entertainment vnto heresie.

We will first iustifie the *Waldenses*, and then answer *Rubis* in the behalfe of those Cities and Prouinces which he hath inclosed within this calumnie. All they offend against the first Commandemēt (say the *Vandois* in the exposition of the first Commandement) that beleue that the Planets can enforce the will of man. These kind of men, as much as in them lies, accompt the Planets as

gods; for they attribute vnto the creature, that which belongs vnto the Creator. Against which the Prophet *Ieremie* 10. speaketh: *Learne not the way of the heathen, and be not dismayed at the signes of heauen, for the heathen are dismayed at them.* And *S. Paul* in the fourth to the Galatians, *Ye obserue moneths, and dayes, and times, and yeares: but I am afraid of you, lest I haue bestowed vpon you labour in vaine.*

All they offend against this commandement, that beleeue Sorcerers and Soothsayers: for these men beleeue the diuels are gods. The reason is, because they aske of diuels that which God alone can giue, that is, to manifest things hidden, and to foreshew the truth of things to come, which is forbidden of God, *Leuit. 19. 31. Regard not them that haue familiar spirits, neither seeke after wizards to be defiled with them.* And in the 20. 6. *The soule that turneth after such as haue familiar spirits, and after wizards to go a whoring after them, I will set my face against that soule, and will cut him off from amongst his people.* And in the last verse of that Chapter, *A man or woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death; they shall stone them with stones, their blood shall be vpon them.*

As touching the punishment of this sinne, and the vengeance that God taketh vpon such a one, we reade in the 2. Kings 1. 3. that the Angell of the Lord sent vnto *Elijah* to meete the messengers of *Ahaziah*, and to say vnto them, *Is it not because there is not a God in Israel, that ye go to enquire of Baalzebub the God of Ekron?* and therefore saith the Lord in that place, *Thou shalt not come downe from that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die.* *Saul* died, because he had disobeyed the commandement of God which he gaue vnto him: he regarded it not,

not, neither did he hope in the Lord, but tooke counsell of Sorcerers, for which cause the Lord tooke away his life, and transferred his kingdome vnto *Dauid* the sonne of *Isbah*.

Let euery man therefore know, that all enchantment, or coniuration, or charme in writing, made to giue remedie to any kind of persons or beasts, is of no value, but is rather a snare of our ancient aduersarie the diuell, by which he entrappeth and deceiveth mankind.

Here you may see what the *waldenses* haue written against Sorcerers out of the word of God. It remaineth that we answer vnto that calummie of *Rubis*, that it is apparent in our times, that heresie and sorcerie are inseparably ioyned together, in those Cities and Provinces that haue giuen place vnto heresie.

He taxeth without all doubt the Citie of *Genena*, and the States of the *Cantons* that haue receiued the Gospell, without any other shew of prooffe, but that most commonly in those places Sorcerers are cōdemned to death, following the commandement of God, which suffereth no Sorcerer to liue. He might farre better haue concluded, if he had said that in those places where the reformation of Religion was established in our times, no man doth either conuerse or hath acquaintance with Sorcerers, but so soone as any such is found he is put to death: And therefore no man can affirme that to be true, except he will say, that to burne Sorcerers, is to support them, and by the authoritie of the word to put them to death, be a kind of heresie.

It is true indeed that in those places heresie and force are ioyned together, where they that make profession to teach the people are for the most part Sorcerers; whereof many men haue complained, who haue written with

with a great deale of griefe, that which they knew to be put in practise by their Priests and Monks, yea by some of the Popes themselves.

*Bodin in his De-
mon. l. 4. c. 6. p.
211.*

Bodin affirmeth, that there are infinite indictments in which it appeareth that the Priests many times are not onely Sorcerers, or at least wise that Sorcerers haue intelligence with the Priests, but that they are content to say Masses for Sorcerers, fitting them with sacrifices, consecrating their parchments, putting rings vpon their grauen tombes, or other the like things vpon their altar, or vnder the linnen of the altar when they said Masse.

*Iohn Vuier in
his booke of di-
uels. l. 4. chap. 3.
fol. 303.*

Iohn Vuier Phisitian to the Duke of *Cleme*, though he made profession of the Romish religion, writes as followeth. If the Pastors of the Churches did stop vp the windowes of false doctrines and other impieties, they should certainly haue (saith he) a wholsome preseruatiue for those that are vnder their charge against the subtile practises and impostures of the diuell, whereby they that are most vnadvised should not be so often intrangled as commonly we see them, to the great hurt and detriment of their soules; which cometh to passe, not onely by the negligence of the Priests, whom it most concerneth, & whose charge it is to looke vnto it, but also by their pursuite, counsell, peruerse doctrine, and deceitfull working, by which they allure and draw the simple people to haue recourse to vnlawfull remedies, as often as they are any way afflicted with sudden, long, knowne and vknowne maladies, proceeding from naturall causes, or from those which are aboue nature: which turneth to the great scandall of the Church, considering that they make profession to be Ecclesiasticall persons, and for the most part they are Priests or Monkes, whom men thinke to be such, that

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it is a great wickednesse to haue the least ill thought or opinion of them, since they should serue for an example to their flocke, and considering they are Doctors and teachers; But perhaps (saith he) these Magicians thinke that this art belongs vnto them by a speciall prerogatiue, and that they haue right thereunto by an hereditarie succession, because the Priests of Egypt (of whom *Pithagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Democritus*, *Plato*, haue learned their Magicke) were Negromancers. Now I thinke not, saith he, that they that will take vpon them to defend these Priests and the practise of their enchantments, are so audacious as to obiect vnto me diuers Popes of *Rome* skilfull in the Magicke art, affirming that they haue put it in practise to their great profit & comfort: such as *Siluester 2.* was, who as *Platina* and *Naclerus* affirme, obtained the Pope-dome by that meanes: and such as *Benedict 9.* in the yeare one thousand three hundred and two, who before was named *Theophilact*, and after *Maledictus*, because of his wickednesse. Such also as was *Iohn 20.* and *Iohn 21.* as *Cardinall Benno* writeth, who aided themselves with their familiar friends, *Laurentius*, *Gratian*, and *Hildebrand*, all culpable of these enchantments. For all the Popes that were after *Siluester 2.* vnto *Gregory 7.* who was a great and a famous Magician, and who (as *Benno* writeth) as oft as it seemed good vnto himselfe, would shake his sleeves in such a manner, that sparkles of fire should come forth of them, whereby he blinded the eyes of the more simple and lesse subtile, as if they had bene miracles and signes of sanctitie. Such were all these Popes, as it is set downe in their liues, where you may also reade many execrable examples, whereby they wonne women to their loue, and were much giuen to offer abominable sacrifices vnto diuels in forrests and mountaines.

*Platina in the
life of Siluester
2. fol. 218. prim.
ted at Paris ann.
1551.*

*Iohn Maire in
his Historie of
the Schismes of
the Church
saith, that all the
Popes here spoken
of were
Sorcerers, Ma-
gicians, and Ne-
gromancers.*

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The Magicians then of our times, saith *Vuier*, must not thinke to couer themselves vnder this mantell and pretence. But we haue reason to deplore the miseries of these times, wherein we can hardly finde any men more wicked and lesse punished, then they that do alwayes admonish the simple people that the euils that happen vnto them are sent by the permission of God.

Moreover he complaineth that these coniuring Priests dare to vse infinite blasphemies, enriched with diuerse crosses figured with their cursed and sacrilegious hands. As also of that vse they make of their holy water, of their exorcised salt, their consecrated tapers at Easter, their candles and tapers at Candlemas against the diuell, with which he mockes them: as also the fumigations of holy bowes vpon Palmesunday, and of herbes stuck vpon the doores vpon the day of Saint *John the Baptist*, and the sprinkling of holy water at the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin *Mary*. Moreover such Priests, saith he, abuse the sacrament of the Eucharist to commit their villanies.

He likewise complaineth that Theologie and Physicke are polluted with coloured exorcismes, by their mumbling of barbarous words in an vnknowne tongue, by abusing the word of God, by bands, neck-laces, and charmes, all which conspire and procure the vter ruine and damnation of men.

Moreover he saith, that the Priests haue very apparently made vse of diuerse apparitions of Sathan, affirming themselves to be the soules of this or that man, and faining to be in the paines of Purgatory, for their owne particular profit. And when the diuell hath not sufficiently furnished them, they haue counterfeited themselves to be spirits, to draw the liuing to more frequent oblations, donations, and dotationes, to satiate their

their auarice.

Lauater saith as much, and relates at large the history of the false spirit of *Orleans*, and of the Iacobins at *Berne*, which amongst others were the most famous impostures of Monkes.

The famous Parliaments of *Aix* & *Grenoble* haue condemned vnto death diuerse Priests that were forcerers, as namely, at *Aix* a certaine Hermit adored of the people for a Saint. And *Lewes Godfrey*, that famous Magician, beneficed in the Church of *Acoules* at *Marseilles*, who was burnt in *Prouence* the last of Aprill, 1611. And at *Grenoble* *Nobilibus* a Monke, and a certaine Priest in the Diocesse of *Ambrun*, who baptized infants in the name of *Baalzebub*. And therefore we may conclude, that forasmuch as in these venerable Parliaments they haue condemned forcerers to death, which is not done elsewhere, they are to haue the blame that do it not, of which fault *Rubis* would seeme to taxe the States and Cities without exception. More modestie becomes a man then was in this passionate *Rubis*: for it is great reason, that among Priests such should be excepted, as God hath not so farre forth abandoned, as to suffer them to adhere to the forceries of Satan. This pratler should haue thought, that either soone or late this calumnie would be retorted to his owne shame. He should haue contented himselfe with his reprochfull speeches against the *Waldenses*, of whom he hath belched many false reports, carried by the violence of his owne humour, and not haue laid aspersions on the liuing: yea he should blush to thinke that he hath giuen vs iust occasion to retort vpon himselfe and his wicked Priests, that which he would lay vpon those that make profession of the Gospell, and that punish with death all forcerers: so farre are they from ha-

*Truely Impudent
Hamburgher*

Lauater is his
booke of the
apparition of
diuels, Chap. 14.
7.

*Wt. O. quickly done
it was made*

*Wt. O. quickly done
it was made*

*Wt. O. quickly done
it was made*

uing communion or conuerſe with them. Thus you haue the iuſtification of the greateſt calumnies that haue bene layed vpon the *waldenſes* by their owne writings, which may ſatiſfie any man that is not carried with paſſion. It is neceſſarie that we now produce ſuch witneſſes, for the better defence of their innocencie, as are free from all ſuſpition.

CHAP. V.

*Testimonies of pietie, probitie and erudition giuen to the
waldenses, by diuerse of their aduersaries themselves.*

*Jacob. Rib. in his
collections of
the Citie of
Tholous.*

thassagnō citeth
Riberia in his
historic of the
Albigensis. pa.
27.

Rain. in his
booke De for-
ma beret. fo! 98.

Acobus de Riberia, who in his time gaue aide to the persecution of the *Waldenses*, saith that they held a long time the higher place in *Gallia Norbomen.* in the Diocesse of *Albi, Rodes, Cahors, and Agen,* and that in those times they were of little esteeme that would be called Priests and Bishops, because the said Priests for the most part were either vnworthy or ignorant : and therefore it was an easie matter for the *Waldenses* (saith he) to get the ypper hand amongst the people, for the excellencie of their doctrine.

Rainerius a Iacobin Monke and a cruell Inquisitor of the *waldenses*, thinking to darken their reputation, because they vsually read the Scriptures, saith, that when the *waldenses* would giue knowledge of their doctrine, they alledged many things touching chastitie, humilitie, and other vertues, shewing that we are to flie all vice and wickednesse, alledging the words of Christ and his Apostles, insomuch that the women that vnderstood them, were so rauished therewith, that they seemed to them rather

rather to speake like Angels then men.

He addeth, that they taught what manner of men the
disciples of Christ ought to be, out of the words of the
Gospell and the Apostles, affirming that they onely
were the successours of the Apostles that imitated them
in their liues. Concluding hereupon (saith he) that the
Pope, the Bishops, the Clergie that enioy the riches of
this world, and imitate not the sanctitie of the Apostles,
are not the gouernours of the Church: it not being the
will of Christ to commit his Church to such kinde of
people, that should rather prostitute her by their ill ex-
amples and wicked actions, then to present her a chaste
virgin, in the same purity they haue received her frō him;
and therefore that we are not to obey them. He addeth
moreouer, that they liued very religiously in all things,
their manners well seasoned, and their words wise and
polished, by their wils alwayes speaking of God and his
Saints, perswading to vertue, and to hate sinne, to the end
(saith he) that they might be in greater esteeme with
good men.

Claud. de Seiffel Archbithop of Turin, giues this testimonie of the *Waldenses*, that as touching their life and manners, they haue bene alwayes sound and vnreprouable, without reproch or scandall amongst men, giuing themselues, to their power, to the obseruation of the Commandements of God.

The Cardinall *Baronius* attribureth to the *Waldenses* of *Tholouse* the title of good men, which tels vs that they were a peaceable people, howsoever he elsewhere imputeth vnto them fundrie crimes, and that very falsely.

Astouching erudition, *Rainerius* hath said, that they ^{*Raine. ibid. fol.*} teach their children, yea euen their daughters, the Epi- 27.
files and the Gospels. *Iacobus de Riberia* saith, that they
E 2 were ^{*came*} ^{*et a mon jam mzt*}

Ibid. fol. 98.

Claud. in his
treatise against
the Waldense

Bayonius in his
Ecclesiasticall
Annals, Tom
12. an. 1176. p
835.

Raine, *ibid.* fol.
97.

97. ~~came~~ ^{came}
 & a man from the

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were

Iacob. de Rib. in his collections of the Citie of Toulouze.

Vesembec. in his Oration touching the Waldenses.

were so well instructed in the Scriptures, that he hath heard a plaine countreman repeate the booke of *Iob* word by word, and diuerse others that could perfectly repeate the whole new Testament.

The Bishop of *Cavaillon* in the time of the great persecution against the *waldenses* of *Merindall* in *Prouence* (of which historie we shall speake in his due place) appointing a certaine Monke a Diuine, to enter into conference with them, to conuince their error, before (saith he) we come to violence: but the Monke being much perplexed, retired himselfe, saying, that he had not so much profited in his whole life in the Scriptures as he had done in those few dayes of his conference with the said *waldenses*, in examining the Articles of their Confession by the passages of Scripture cited by them. This Bishop not being satisfied by this triall, sent a companie of yong Doctors, that came lately from *Sorbonne*, to confound them by the subtiltie of their questions. But one there was among the rest, that said at his returne with a lowde voice, that he had learned more touching the doctrine necessarie to saluation, in attending to the answers of the little children of the *waldenses* in their catechizings, then in all the disputations of diuinitie which he had euer heard in Paris.

Bern. de Gir. in his history of Fraunce. lib. 10.

Vesemb. in his Oration of the Waldenses.

Bernard de Girard Lord of *Haillan* saith, that the *waldenses* haue bene charged with more wicked opinions then they held, because (saith he) they stirred the Popes and great men of the world to hate them for the libertie of their speech which they vsed in condemning the vices and dissolute behaiour of Princes and Ecclesiasticall persons.

King *Lewis 12.* hauing bene informed by the enemies of the *Waldenses* dwelling in *Prouence*, of many grievous crimes

crimes which were imposed vpon them, sent to make inquisition in those places, the Lord *Adam Fumee* master of Requests, & a Doctor of *Sorbon* called *Parui*, who was his Confessour. They visited all their Parishes and Temples, and found neither images, nor so much as the least shew of any ornaments belonging to their Masses and ceremonies of the Church of Rome, much lesse any such crimes as were imposed vpon them; but rather that they kept their Sabbathes duely, causing their children to be baptized according to the order of the Primate Church, teaching them the Articles of the Christian faith and the Commandements of God. The king hearing the report of the said Commissioners, said, (and he bound it with an oath) that they were better men then he, or his people. The same king vnderstanding that in *Dauphiney*, namely, in the valley of *Fraissiniere*, in the Diocesse of *Ambrun*, there were a certaine people that lined like beasts without religion, having an euill opinion of the Romish religion, he sent a Confessour of his with the Officiall of *Orleans* to bring him true information thereof. This Confessour with his colleague came vnto the place, where they examined the *Waldenses* dwelling in the said valley, touching their beleefe and conuersation. The Archbishop of *Ambrun* who made account that the goods of the said *waldenses* were annexed to the demaine of his Archbishopricke, as being confisable for the cause of heresie, pressed the aforesaid Commissioners speedily to condemne them for heretickes; but the said Commissioners would not obey his desire, but rather iustified the as much as in them lay, inasmuch that before their departure, the said Confessour of the king in his chamber at the signe of the Angell in *Ambrun*, wished in the presence of many, that he were as good a Chri-

sabbath

It appeareth by the memorials of the Archbishop of Ambrun named Restain.

Ioachim Camer.
in his historie,
pag. 352.

Christian as the worst of the said valley of *Fraissiniere*.

King *Francis* the first of that name, and successour to *Lewis 12.* vnderstanding that the Parliament of *Prouence* had laid heauie burthens vpon the *waldenses* dwelling at *Merindol* and *Cambriers*, and other places thereabout, desired to be informed of the beleefe, life, and conuersation of the said *waldenses*, and to that end commanded *William de Belay*, Lord of *Langeay* at that time his Lieutenant in *Piemont*, to make a diligent inquiry into those affaires: whereupon the said Lord sent into *Prouence* two honest reuerent men, to whom he gaue in charge to make inquiry both of the liues and religion of the *waldenses*, as also of the proceedings of the Court of Parliament against them. These two deputies to the Lord de *Langeay* reported that the greatest part of the countrie of *Prouence* did affirme that the said *waldenses* were a kind of people very painfull, and that about two hundred yeares since they departed from the countrie of *Piemont*, and came to dwell in *Prouence*, and taking vpon them the profession of husbandmen and shepheards, they made many villages that were destroyed in the wars, and other desert sauage places, very fertile by their labours. And that they had found by informations in the said countrie of *Prouence*, that the aforesaid men of *Merindol* were a peaceable people, beloued of their neighbours, men of a good and godly conuersation, carefull to keepe their promises, and to pay their debts without suites of law, very charitable, not suffering any amongst them to fall into want and beggery, liberall to strangers and poore passengers to the vtmost of their power: As also that the inhabitants of *Prouence* did affirme that they of *Merindol* were knowne from others of the countrie, because they could neuer be perswaded to blaspheme,

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or so much as to name the diuell, or in any sort to sweare, except it were vpon certaine contracts or in iudgement. And that they were likewise knowne by this, that whensoever they fell into company of such as vsed either idle, or wanton, or blasphemous discourse against the honour of God, they presently departed.

Thus you see how many of the aduersaries of the *waldenses* haue giuen honourable reports of them, enforced thereunto by the force of truth it selfe. Let vs now see in what esteeme they haue bene with those that succeeded them in the same beleefe.

CHAP. VI.

Testimonies giuen of the *Waldenses* by many great personages that haue made profession of the reformed religion.



Theodor Beza calleth the *waldenses* the seed of the most pure ancient Christian Church, which was miraculously preserved in the midst of the darknesse and errors which haue bene hatched by Satan in these latter times.

Constans vpon the Revelation, sheweth that the reformation of the Church in the Westerne parts of the world began in *France*, by the meanes of *Waldo*; and that from this source it spread it selfe through the rest of *Europe*.

Bullinger speaks thus of the *waldenses*, What should we say (saith he) that aboue foure hundred yeares since, throughout *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *Bohemia*, and other countries and kingdomes of the world, the *waldenses* haue made profession of the Gospell of Christ

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Iesus,

Beza in his historie of worthy men.

Const. vpon the Apocalyp'e.

Bullinger in the Preface of his sermons vpon the Revelation.

Iesus, and in many their writings and continuall preachings accused the Pope to be the true Antichrist of whom the Apostle Saint *John* had prophesied, and therefore we were to flie from him. These people being tortured with diuerse most cruell torments, haue with vn-speakable constancie giuen testimony of their faith by glorious martyrdomes, and the like they suffer euen at this very day. It is beyond the power of man to banish them or to roote them out, notwithstanding it haue bene often attempted by most mightie kings and Princes stirred vp by the Pope, but it is God (saith he) that hath hindered all their violent outrages. *Luther* confessed that he hated the *Waldenses* as desperate men, vntill he knew the pietie and truth of their beleefe by their owne confessions and writings, whereby he perceiued that these good and honest men were much wronged, and that the Pope had condemned them for heretikes, being rather worthie of the praise that is due to Saints and Martyrs: And that he had found in the said *Waldenses* one thing worthy admiration, and to be obserued as a miracle neuer heard of in the Church of *Rome*, namely, that the said *Waldenses* hauing abandoned all humane learning, gaue them selues wholly, to the vtmost of their power, to the meditation of the law of God day & night, and that they were very expert in the Scriptures, and well exercised in them; and that contrarily they whom we call our great Maisters in the Papacy, made so light account of the Scriptures (glorying neuerthelesse in the title thereof) that there were some amongst them, that had scarce seene the Bible.

Hauing also read the confession of the *Waldenses*, he said that he did thanke God for that great light that it had pleased God to impart vnto them, taking great com-

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*Resembles in
his Oration of
the Waldenses.*

Gods Lag

fort with them, for that all occasion of suspicion amongst them whereby one was suspected to the other of heresie, was taken away, and that they were knit so close together, as that they were all sheepe of one fold, vnder the onely Pastor and Bishop of our soules, who is blessed for euer.

Oecolampadius writ vnto the *Waldenses* of *Prouence*, in the yeare a thousand five hundred and thirtie, this letter following.

WE haue vnderstood with a great deale of contentment by your faithfull Pastor *George Morel*, what your faith and religion is, and with what termes you speake thereof. We therefore yeeld humble and heartie thanks to our mercifull Father, who hath called you to so great light in this age, euen in the midst of those obscure darkneses which are spread throughout the whole world, and the unlimited power of Antichrist. And therefore we acknowledge and confesse that Christ is in you, for which we loue you as brethren. And I would to God we had power and abilitie to make you feele that in effect which we shall be readie to do for you, yea though it be in matters of greatest difficultie. We would not that you should take that which we write to proceed out of any pride, or attributing to our selues any superioritie, but out of that brotherly loue and charitie we beare towards you. The Father of our Lord Iesus Christ hath imparted vnto you an excellent knowledge of his truth, more then to many other people, and hath blessed you with a spirit all benediction. So that if you persist in his grace, he hath in store greater treasures for you, which he will enrich you withall, and make you perfect, that you may grow to the full measure of the inheritance of Christ.

This letter is found in the book of *George Morel*, pastor of the *Waldenses* touching the conference which he had with *Oecolamp.* and *Martin Bucer.*

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The subscription of the letter is, *Oecolampadius* wisheth the grace of God the Father, by his Sonne Iesus Christ, and his holy Spirit, to his welbeloued brethren in Christ, which they call *Waldenses*.

Martin Bucer writ vnto them at the same time this letter following.

Blessed be the Lord God and our louing Father, who hath preserved you to this present time in so great knowledge of his truth, and who hath now inspired you in the search thereof, hauing made you capable and fit to do it. Behold now what the nature of true faith is, which is, that so soone as it knowes in part any sparke of the diuine light, it preserveth carefully the things that are giuen vnto it of God. Saint Paul is an example vnto vs, who in all his Epistles shewes the great care that he hath had to procure the glorie of God. And doubtlesse if we pray with a good heart, that the name of God be sanctified, and his kingdome may come, we shall prosecute nothing with such diligence as the establishment of the truth where it is not, and the advancement thereof where it is already planted. One onely thing doth especially grieue vs, that our employments at this time are such about other affaires, that we haue no leisure to answer you at large as we desire, &c.

The rest of this letter is hereafter in the booke of the persecutions of the *Waldenses*, *Vigneaux* in his Memorials of the *Waldenses*. fol. 4.

Le Sieur de Vigneaux who was a Pastor of the *Waldenses* in the vallies of *Piemont*, hath written a Treatise of their life, manners, and religion, to whom he giues this testimonie, that they were a people of a holy and godly life and conuersation, well gouerned, great enemies to vice, but especially their Barbes, for so they called their Pastors. And speaking of those of his owne time, he saith:

We

We live in peace in these vallies of *Piemont*, and in loue & amitie one with another, we haue commerce together, neuer marrying our sonnes to the daughters of those of the Church of *Rome*, or our daughters to their sonnes; yea our manners and customes please them so well, that such as are masters and call themselves Catholickes, desire to chuse their men-seruants and maid-seruants rather from amongst vs then themselves. And they come also from farre to seeke nurses for their children amongst vs, finding in ours more fidelitie then in their owne.

And as touching the doctrine for which the *Waldenses* haue bene persecuted, they do affirme (saith he) that we are to beleue the Scriptures onely in that which concerneth our saluation, not any way depending vpon men. That the Scriptures containe in them whatsoever is necessary to saluation, and that we are not to beleue any thing but what God hath commanded vs.

That we haue one onely Mediatour, and therefore we are not to inuocate Saints.

That there is no Purgatory, but all such as are iustified by Christ go to eternall life.

They approue of two Sacraments, Baptisme and the Supper of the Lord.

They affirme that all Masses are damnable, especially those that are said for the dead, and therefore are to be abolished.

That all humane traditions are to be reiected, as not being necessary to saluation.

That singing and often rehearfall of diuine Service, fasts tyed to certaine dayes, superfluous feasts, difference of meates, so many degrees and orders of Friars, Monks, and Nuns, so many benedictions and consecrations of creatures, vows, pilgrimages, and the whole confusion

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and

It appeareth by the Historie of the Estate of the Church. p. 337.

and great number of ceremonies heretofore inuented, are to be abolished.

They deny the supremacie of the Pope, and especially that power that he vsurpeth ouer ciuill government; and they admit of no other degrees, then Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

That the Sea of *Rome* is the true *Babylon*, and that the Pope is the fountaine of all the euils in these dayes.

That the marriage of Priests is good and necessary.

That they that heare the word of God, and haue the true knowledge thereof, are the true Church, vnto which Christ Iesus hath deliuered the keyes, to let in the flocke, and to chafe away the wolues.

Behold here (saith *Vinaux*) the doctrine of the *Waldenses*; which the enemies of the truth haue impugned, and for which in those times they persecuted them, as their enemies themselves do witnesse.

Viret of the true
& false religion.
lib. 4. chap. 13. p.
249.

Viret speaks of the *Waldenses* as followeth. The Papists (saith he) haue imposed great crimes, and that very wrongfully, vpon those ancient faithfull people, commonly called *Waldenses*, or the poore people of *Lions*, frō *Waldo* whose doctrine they followed, by which they make it appeare that the Pope is Antichrist, and that his doctrine is nothing else but humane traditions, contrary to the doctrine of Christ Iesus. For which cause they haue dealt against them, as the ancient *Painims* did against the Christians, accusing them that they killed their owne children in their assemblies.

The Ecclesiasti-
call History of
the reformed
Churches of
France. tom. 1.
lib. 1. p. 35.

The Author of the Historie of the reformed Churches in *France* writeth thus. The *Waldenses* (saith he) time out of mind haue opposed themselves against the abuses of the Church of *Rome*, and haue in such sort bene persecuted, not by the sword of the word of God, but by all kind

of

of violence and crueltie, as also by a million of calumnies and false accusations, that they haue bene enforced to disperse themselves into what parts of the world they could, wandring through desart places like poore sauage beasts, the Lord neuerthelesse preserving the remnant of them, in such sort, that notwithstanding the fury of the whole world, they were still preserved in three countries farre distant one from the other, that is, *Calabria*, *Bohemia*, and *Piemont*, with the bordering parts thereabout, from whence they haue bene dispersed into the quarters of *Prouence*, about two hundred & seuentie yeares since. And as touching their religion, they haue alwayes auoyded the Papall superstition. For which cause they haue bene alwayes vexed by the Bishops and Inquisitors, abusing the power of secular iustice, in such sort, that it is an euident miracle of God that they should be able to continue.

John Chassagnon writes as followeth. It is written of the *Waldenses* (saith he) that they reiected all the traditions and ordinances of the Church of *Rome*, as vnprofitable and superstitious, and that they made no great account of their Clergie and Prelates. And for this cause being excommunicated and chased out of the countrey, they dispersed themselves into many and diuerse places, as into *Dauphiney*, *Prouence*, *Languedoc*, *Piemont*, *Calabria*, *Bohemia*, *England*, and other places. Some haue written that one part of the *Waldenses* retired themselves into *Lombardie*, where they multiplyed in such a manner, that their doctrine was dispersed throughout all *Italie*, and came as farre as *Sicile*. Neuerthelesse in this great dispersion, they alwayes kept themselves in vnion and fraternitie for the space of foure hundred yeares, liuing in great sinceritie and the feare of God.

John Chassagnon
in his Historie
of the *Albigens*.
p. 25.

The

The Historie of
the Estate of
the Church.
p. 336.

The Author of the Historie of the State of the Church writes of them thus. After that *Waldo* (saith he) and his followers were driven out of *Lions*, one part of them retired to *Lombardie*, where they multiplied in such a manner, that their doctrine began to disperse it selfe into *Italie*, and came into *Sicile*, as the Patents of *Fredericke* the second, giuen out against them whilest he reigned, do witnesse.

Vesemb. in his
oration of the
Waldenses. p. 3.

Vesembecius saith, that when the Pope and his catchpoles saw that the Romane Hierarchie received great detriment by meanes of the *Waldenses*, inso much that there were certaine Princes that had taken their defence, amongst whom was the King of *Aragon*, and the Earles of *Toulouze*, in those dayes puissant Princes in *France*, they began to oppresse them vpon most vniust occasions, bringing them into hatred with the people, and especially of Kings, to the end that by this meanes they might be utterly exterminated.

Vignier in his
Historicall Bi-
bliothec. p. 130.

Vignier makes mention of the *Waldenses* in his Histori- cal Bibliothec, and saith, that they haue endured many long and grieuous persecutions, and yet notwithstanding there was neuer any thing that could hinder them from retaining that doctrine which they had receiued from the *Waldenses*, deliuering it (as it were) from hand to hand vnto their children.

Hologaray in his
History of Foix
p. 120, 121.

Hologaray affirms, that the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* were of a contrary opinion to the Bishop of *Rome* in all those maxims or principles that were publicly preached & commanded by his authoritie, that is, that were inuented by him, and contrary to the word of God. And he witnesseth withall, that there were amongst them wise men, and very learned, and sufficient to defend their be- liefe against the Monkes.

Mathias

Mathias Illyricus writes, that he finds by the writings of *Waldo*, which lay by him in certaine ancient parchments, that *Waldo* was a learned man, and that he did not cause the bookes of the Bible to be translated into the vulgar tongue, but that he tooke paines therein him- selfe.

Math. Illyricus
in his Catal. of
the witnesses of
the truth. p. 134.

It is most certaine, that the aduersaries of *Waldo* and the *Waldenses*, make no great account of these aboue- named testimonies, because they hold them to be both of one and the same ranke and order, both the witnesses and those to whom they beare witnesse, that is, all for here- ticks: but this Historie is not onely for the enemies of the truth, but to the end the louers thereof may see that that which is here produced, doth not intend onely our owne particular commendations, but to shew that there haue bene before vs certaine great personages, whose memo- rie they reuerence that haue spoken of the *Waldenses* as of the true Sacraments of God, who haue maintained the truth with the losse of their liues, and earnestly desi- red in their times to see the reformation we enioy in ours.

And as *le Sieur de S. Aldegonde* saith, the occasion why they were condemned for heretickes, was no other but because they maintained that the Masse was an im- pious corruption of the holy Supper of the Lord.

In the first table
of his differen-
ces, the third
part. p. 150.

That the Hoste was an idoll forged by men.

That the Church of *Rome* was wholly adulterated and corrupted, and full of infidelitie and idolatrie.

That the traditions of the Church were but supersti- tions and humane intuentions.

That the Pope was not the head of the Church, and for other points of this nature.

And as the said *Aldegonde* obserues, it was a great worke

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worke of God, that how diligent soeuer the Popes with their Clergie haue bene, vsing likewise the assistance of secular Princes and magistrates, to roote them out, yet they could neuer do it, neither by proscriptions, nor banishments, nor excommunications, nor publications of their Bulles, nor Indulgences and Pardons to all those that shall make warre against them: nor by any manner of torments, fire, flames, gibets, or other cruell effusion of blood, could they euer hinder the current of their doctrine, but it hath spread it selfe almost into all the corners of the earth.

This hath *le Sieur de Saint Aldegonde* writ of the *Waldenses*. But forasmuch as doubt may be made, whether we haue in these dayes any proofes in the world of their beleefe, it is necessary that we produce hereabouts an inuentorie of bookes which they haue left vnto vs, to the end that when there shall be any question of their doctrine, euery one may vnderstand what the writings are out of which we haue gathered that which they taught.

CHAP. VII.

That Peter Waldo and the Waldenses haue left bookes which make prooffe of their beleefe, and what they are.

In the former
Chap.



at Waldo left something in writing vnto vs, it appeares by that which *Math. Illyricus* saith, that he hath certaine parchments of his, which shew him to be a learned man.

Historie of the
Estate of the
Church, p. 307.

The Author of the Historie of the Estate of the Church giues this testimonie that followeth. *Waldo* at the same time (saith he) made a collection in the vulgar tongue

tongue of sundry passages of the ancient Fathers, to the end he might defend his opinions not onely by the authoritie of the holy Scripture, but also by the testimonie of the Doctors against his aduersaries.

About fortie yeares since *le Sieur de Vignaux* Pastor of the Churches of the *Waldenses* in *Piemont*, writ as followeth in his memorials that he made: Of the beginning, Antiquitie, Doctrine, Religion, Manners, Discipline, Persecutions, Confessions, and progresse of the people called *Waldenses*, I that write (saith he) can witness, that being sent vnto these people to preach the Gospell of our Lord Iesus Christ, which I did about some fortie yeares together, I had no need to take much paines to win them from the ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, nor to roote out of their minds the Pope, the Masse, Purgatory, and such other things, wherein they were a long time Doctors before my coming, although the greatest part of them knew neither A nor B.

It is to this seruant of God to whom we are much bound for the multitude of bookes written by the *Waldenses*. For as oft as he lighted vpon any, he gathered them together and kept them carefully, which he did the more commodiously, for that, as he saith, he conuersed with them almost for the space of fortie yeares, which was about some fourescore yeares past. For it was about the end of his dayes that he deliuered to some particular persons his said Memorials, which he had gathered touching the *Waldenses*, and all those ancient bookes which he had collected in their vallies, touching the substance of which he thus speaketh. We haue, saith he, certaine ancient bookes of the *Waldenses*, containing Catechismes and Sermons, which are manuscripts written in the vulgar tongue, wherein there is nothing that makes for

Ibid. p. 3.

the Pope or poperie. And it is wonderfull, saith he, that they saw so clearly in those times of darknes, more grosse then that of Egypt.

In his first table.
p. 153.

Le Sieur de Saint Ferriol, Pastor in the Church of Orange, being carried with an holy curiositie, gathered together many of the said bookes, which he shewed to le Sieur de S. Aldegonde, who made mention of them in his first table, wherein he saith that there are other manuscripts written in a very ancient letter in the Library of M. Ioseph de la Scale.

Now all the bookes hereunder mentioned, being delivered vnto me to furnish me with proofes for this Historie, I will reduce into this Catalogue.

First we haue in our hands a new Testament in parchment in the waldenses language, very well written, though with a very ancient letter.

Also there is a booke intituled the Antechrist, which thus begins, *Qual cosa sia l' Antechrist, en datte de l'an mille cent & vingt.*

In the same volume there are contained diuers Sermons of the Pastors of the waldenses.

With a Treatise against sinne, and the remedies to resist sinne.

Also a booke entituled, The booke of Vertues.

In that volume there is another Treatise with this inscription, *De l'enseignement de la filli*: that is to say, of the Instructions of children.

A Treatise of Mariage.

A Treatise entituled, *Li parlar de li Philosophes & Docters*, that is, sentences of Philosophers and Doctors.

All which bookes are written in the language of the waldenses, which is partly Prouenciall, and partly Piemontaine. All of them sufficient to instruct their people

to

to liue well, and to beleue well: the doctrine of all which bookes being conformable to that which is taught and beleued at this present in all the reformed Churches.

From hence we conclude, that that doctrine that hath bene maintained in our times against humane inuentions, is not new but to those that haue buried it wilfully, or whose ancestors haue detested it, out of their ignorance of the goodnesse thereof; there being found diuers writings, and that in great number, which make good that for these foure hundred and fiftie yeares the doctrine of the reformed Churches is the selfsame which for many ages hath bene buried by ignorance and ingratitude.

Which our aduersaries themselves haue in some sort auouched, when they say and confesse, that that doctrine which they call new, is but the substance of the errors of the ancient waldenses, as may appeare by their owne writings, from whence we haue gathered that which remaineth, in the Chapter following.

CHAP. VIII.

That the aduersaries of the Waldenses haue acknowledged that the doctrine of the waldenses is conformable to that of those that at this present make profession of reformation.



Lindanus makes Calvin an inheritor or heire of the doctrine of the waldenses.

Lindanus, in his analiticke tables.

The Cardinall Hosius saith, that the leprosie of the waldenses hath infected all Bohemia, at what time following the doctrine of waldo, the greatest part of the kingdom of Bohemia was se-

Hosius in his first booke of the heresies of our times.

parated from the Church of Rome.

Gwalt. in his
Chro. table. sec.
12. Chap. 15. pa.
494.

Cland. Rubis in
his historie of
the Cite of Li-
ons. lib. 3. pa.
269.

Syluius and Du-
brauius in their
Histories of Bo-
hemia.

Tho. Wal. in his
6. volume of
things sacramen-
tall. Tit. 12.
Chap. 10.

Le Sieur de la
Popeliniere in
his historie of
France. l. 1.

Gwaltier Monke the Iesuite, in his Chronographically table, or to speake otherwise, in his mole-hill of lyes, makes the *waldenses*, and those they call the poore abused, and the Ministers of *Caluin*, to be of one and the same beleefe in twentie seuen Articles.

Cland. Rubis saith, that the heresies that haue bene in our times haue bene grounded vpon the heresies of the *Waldenses*, and he calls them the reliques of *Waldo*.

Aeneas Syluius who was afterwards Pope *Pius* the second of that name. And *John Dubrauius* Bishop of Olmüsse in their histories of *Bohemia*, make the doctrine taught by *Caluin* all one with that of the *waldenses*.

Thomas Walden, who writ against the doctrine of *Wickliffe* saith, that the doctrine of *Waldo* crept out of the quarters of *France* into *England*. Whereunto agrees *le Sieur de la Popeliniere*, who addeth that the doctrine of the moderne Protestants differs very little from that of the *waldenses*, which (saith he) being receiued into the parts of *Albi*, the *Albigensis* communicated it vnto the *English* their neighbours, who then held *Guienne*, from whence it was dispersed into many parts of *England*, and so at the last, as it were from hand to hand it came to the vnderstanding of *wickliffe*, a famous professour of diuinitie in the Vniuersitie of *Oxford*, and Pastor of the parish of *Lutterworth* in the Diocesse of *Lincolne*, who for his eloquence and rare gifts, wonne the hearts of many of the *English*, even of the greatest men amongst them; inso-much that a certaine scholler carried vnto *Prage* a booke of *Wickliffes* called the Vniuersalities, which being diligently read ouer by *John Hus*, he increased and explained the doctrine long before sowed in *Bohemia* by the *waldenses*, and was in a manner hid from the time of *Waldo*:

in

in such sort that many of the people, schollers, Nobles, and Ecclesiasticall persons themselves, followed the same doctrine.

The Cardinall *Bellarmino* saith, that *wickliffe* could adde nothing to the heresie of the *waldenses*.

Ecchius layes an imputation vpon *Luther*, that he hath done nothing else but renew the heresies of the *waldenses*, *Albig.* *wickliffe*, and *John Hus*, long since condemned.

Alphonfus de Castro saith, that *wickliffe* hath done nothing else but brought to light the errours of the *Waldenses*.

Arnold Sorbin priest of *Monteig* reprocheth the cities and townes of *Saint Antonin*, *Montauban*, *Millan*, *Castres*, *Puylorens*, *Gaillac*, and others of the *Albiges* and *Languedoc*, that they haue done nothing but reuiue the errours of the *Albigensis*.

John de Cardonne in his *Rimes* in the forefront of the historie of the said Monke of the valley *Sernay* saith thus:

What the sect of *Geneua* doth admit,

Th' hereticke *Albigensis* doth commit.

Anthony d' Ardene of *Tholouse* in the same booke saith:

Wherewith our *Hugonites* seasoned were,

The same intention, the selfesame care.

We need not therefore dispute any longer of the antiquitie of this doctrine, but onely of the puritie thereof, since that not onely by the affirmation of those that were aduersaries to the *waldenses* and the last reformation, there are whole ages, during the which the substance of that beleefe hath remained in diuers persons, who crying out against the abuses which haue crept into the Church, haue bene oppressed by persecutions. And for as much as it is denied, that we haue had a succession of such instruments, who haue opposed themselves from time

*Bellar. Tom. 2.
lib. 1. Chap. 26.
col. 86.*

Ecchius in his
commonplaces
Chap. 28.

*Alphonfus lib. 6.
against heresies.
pa. 99.*

In the historie
Frier *Peter* of
the valleys *Sernay*. fol. 172.

In the historie
of the Monke
of the valleys
Sernay.

Ibid.

time to time against those corruptions and errors, which haue borne sway, we will produce in the Chapter following a catalogue, both of those which our aduersaries haue named, and put to death, and of those whom the *Waldenses* haue had for their Pastors for these foure hundred and fiftie yeares last past, at leastwise of as many as haue come to our knowledge.

CHAP. IX.

The names of those Pastors of the Waldenses who haue instructed them for foure hundred yeares last past, and haue come to our knowledge.



Waldo from whom the *Waldenses* tooke their name, began to teach the people in the yeare of our Lord, a thousand one hundred and sixtie.

In his first table
of Differ. pa.
150.

Le Sieur de Sainte Aldegonde obserueth, that at the same time that *Waldo* began to shew himselfe and to teach at *Lions*, God raised others in *Pronence* and *Languedoc*, among whom the principall were, *Arnold*, *Esperon*, and *Ioseph*, of whom they were named *Arnoldists*, *Iosephists*, & *Esperonists*: though because their doctrine was first received in *Albi* in the countrie of the *Albigensis*, they were commonly called *Albigensis*, in such manner that on the one side the *Waldenses*, and on the other the *Albigensis* were as the two Oliues, or the two lampes which Saint *John* speaketh of, whose light did spread it selfe through all the corners of the earth.

At the same time (saith he) followed *Peter Bruis*, whereupon many called them *Peter Brusens*.

To

To whom there succeeded in doctrine, one *Henry*, the one being a Priest the other a Monke, and they taught in the Bishopricks of *Arles*, *Ambrun*, *Die*, and *Gap*, from whence being chased away, they were received at *Thoulouse*.

There was a certaine man (saith he) called *Barthelmew* borne at *Carcaſsonne*, that ordered and gouerned the Churches in *Bulgaria*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, *Hungaria*, and appointed Ministers, as *Mathew Paris* reports, naming him their Pope or Bishop, and alledging to that purpose the letter which the Bishop of *Portuense* Legate to the Pope in the parts thereabouts, writ to the Archbishop of *Roan* and his suffragans; demanding succours and assistance against them, inſomuch that they were at the last constrained to retire themſelues into deſerts, following that prophesie in the 12 of the Reuelation, which saith, that the woman great with child, that brought forth a man child, which is the true Church of God, should in ſuch ſort be persecuted by the Dragon, which caſt out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cauſe her to be carried away of the flood, ſo that ſhe was constrained to flie into the wilderneſſe, where ſhe ſhould be nourished for a time, and times, and halfe a time, or for the ſpace of forty two moneths, or a thousand two hundred and threſcore dayes.

Rainerius makes mention of two famous Bishops of the *Waldenses*, viz, of one *Belazinzan* of *Verona*, & one *Iohn de Lugio*, who taught amongſt them after the abouena- med, & about the yeare a thousand two hundred & fifty.

Arnold Hot, paſtor amongſt the *Waldenses*, maintained the diſputation at *Mont Real*, whereof we ſhall make mention in his due place.

Lollard was alſo in great reputation amongſt them,

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both

idem ibid. p. 151

both for a Commentary which he had written vpon the Reuelation, as also for that he had giuen knowledge of their doctrine in England, of whose name the Waldenses were called Lollards.

The Waldenses of the valleys of *Angrongne*, of *Dauphiney*, *Prouence*, and *Calabria*, haue had for their Pastors, these whose memories they haue preferred for aboue three hundred yeares past, that is to say, in *Piemont*,

Paul Gignons de Bobi.

Peter the lesse.

Anthony of the valley of Suse.

John Martin of the valley Saint Martin.

Mathew de Bobi.

Philip of the valley Lucerna.

George of Piemont.

Steuens Laurence of the valley Saint Martin.

Martin de Meane.

John of the valley of *Lucerna*, who for some offence was suspended from his office for seuen yeares, during which time he remained at *Genes*, where the Pastors had a house, as they had also another very faire one at *Florence*.

John Girard, de Meane, surnamed with the great hand.

Of the valley of *Angrongne*, *Thomas Bastie*, who died in the seruice of the Waldenses Churches at *Pouille*.

Sebastian Bastie, who died in *Calabria*.

John Bellonat, of the same valley, who was the first amongst the Pastors that married a wife.

Of the valleys of *Perouse*, *James Germain*.

Benedict Gorran.

Paul Gignons, de Bobi.

John Romagnol, of *Sesena* in *Italie*.

Of *Dauphiney*, *Francis* of the valley of *Fraisiniere*.

Michel

It appears by the memories of *Pignaux*, fol. 14.

Michel Porte, of the valley *Loyse*, in *Briançonnois*.

Peter Flot of *Pragela*.

Of *Prouence*, *Angelin de la Coste*.

Daniel de Valentia, and *John de Molines*.

These two were sent into *Bohemia* to serue in the Churches of the Waldenses gathered together in the said Realme: but they betrayed the Churches, and brought much mischief vpon them, by discovering vnto the enemies of the said Waldenses whatsoeuer they knew of their troupes and meetings, whereby there happened a great persecution: which occasioned the Churches of *Bohemia* to write to the Waldensian Churches of the *Alpes*, from thence forward not to call to such vocations any persons whose faith, honestie and zeale, was not thoroughly knowne by long prooffe and experience.

The last Pastors which they had were *George Maurel*, and *Peter Mascon*, who in the yeare of our Lord 1530. were sent into *Germany* to confer of religion with *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer* and others. *Peter Mascon* was taken prisoner at *Dijon*.

Steuens Negrin and *Lewis Paschal* were sent into *Calabria* in the yeare 1560. to the Waldensian Churches at *Montald*, *Saint Xist*, and other places thereabout. *Steuens Negrin* was taken prisoner and sent to *Cosence*, where he died in prison for want of sustenance.

Lewis Paschal was sent to *Rome*, where he was condemned and burnt aliue, Pope *Pius* the fourth of that name being present and his Cardinals: whom he summoned to appeare before the throne of the Lambe to giue an account of their cruelties.

There are a great number of others, as may appeare by the proceffe commenced against the Waldenses of *Dauphiney* which are come to our hands, wherein men-

It appeareth by that bagge of proceſſe which was found in the Cabinet du Sieur d'Avignon Archbishop of Ambrus, at the laſt taking of Ambrus, againſt the Waldenſes of Proſſiniere, & Largentiere.

tion is made of diuers Paſtours which they haue had, who haue bene many times imprifoned and deliuered vnto death by the Monkes the Inquiſitors, who cauſed them to be watched euen vpon the high Alpes, when they trauelled from one companie to another. This ſmall number may ſuffice to giue vs to vnderſtand, that though their enemies did their beſt endeauour wholly to baniſh them, and to roote them out from off the earth, yet the eternall God hath not ceaſed to provide laborers for his harueſt, when there was any need, to preſerue euen to this preſent day, only in *Dauphiney* and *Prouence*, many thouſands that thinke it their glory to haue come from the ancient *Waldenſes*, and are rather inheritorſ of their zeale and pietie, then their earthly ſubſtance, which their perſecutors do poſſeſſe, as the Pope doth at this preſent, who hath ioyned to his pretended Apoſtolike chamber, all the inheritance of the *Waldenſes* who haue had any thing in his countrie of *Veneſie*; and vnder the pretence of hereſie, if he could, he would rake away their liues too: ſo far is he from thinking to reſtore that which in vaine he hath bene importuned to do, & which his officers haue promiſed to reſtore, with more vanitie and falſhood then honeſtie or true meaning. Now for as much as the Reader not knowing what manner of men their Paſtors were, they may be the leſſe eſteemed, we will in the Chapter following inſert what we find in their writings, which may make prooſe of their vocation, the exerciſe of their charge, zeale, and pietie.

CHAP. X.

What manner of men the Barbes or Paſtors of the *Waldenſes* were: what their vocation, with what zeale and fidelitie they haue exerciſed their charge.

The



He Monke *Rainerius* reports many things touching the vocation of the Paſtors of the *Waldenſes*, which neuer were. As that which is impoſed vpon them, that they haue one greater Biſhop, and two followers, which he calls the elder ſonne and the yonger, and a Deacon; that he laid his hands vpon others with ſoueraigne authoritie, and ſent them whither he thought good, like a Pope. Againſt theſe impoſtures, I haue here ſet downe what is found in their writings touching the vocation of their Paſtors.

All ſuch (ſay they) as are to be receiued for Paſtors amongſt vs, notwithstanding they remaine yet with their parents, are to intreat vs to receiue them to the miniſterie, and that we will be pleaſed to pray vnto God for the, that they may be made capable of ſo great a charge. Which the ſaid ſuppliantſ do to no other end, but to ſhew their humilitie.

They are to learne certaine leſſons, and to learne by heart all the Chapters of Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Iohn*, and all the Epistles which they call Canonically, a good part of the writings of *Salomon*, *David* and the Prophets.

Afterwards having good teſtimonies of their learning and conuerſation, they are receiued with the impoſition of hands into the office or function of preaching.

The laſt that are receiued are to do nothing without the leaue and licence of their Seniors receiued before them. As alſo they that are firſt ought not to attempt any thing without the approbation of their companions, to the end y all things might be done amongſt vs in order.

We Paſtors do aſſemble our ſelues together, every yeare once, to determine of our affaires in a general Councell.

Our nutriment and apparell are willingly adminiſtered

Rain. de forma heret. fol. 8.

The booke of the Paſtors *George Matuel*, and *Peter Maſſon*. pa. 8.

ministred vnto vs, and as it were by way of almes, very sufficiently by the people whom we teach.

*Like the Adonists
in our days.*

The money that is giuen vs by the people, is carried to the aforesaid generall Councell, and is deliuered in the presence of all, and there it is receiued by the most ancients, and part thereof is giuen to those that are trauellers or wayfaring men, according to their necessities, and part vnto the poore.

When any of vs that are Pastors shall fall into anie foule or vncleane sinne, he is cast out of our companie, and forbidden the charge of preaching.

Amongst other power and authoritie which God hath giuen to his seruants, it belongs vnto them to chuse guides of the people, and Ancients in their charges, according to the diuersitie of employment, in the vnitie of Christ. Which is proued by the saying of the Apostle in his Epistle to Titus, Chap. 1. verse 5. *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordaine Elders in every City, as I haue appointed thee.*

Thus you see how the Pastors of the waldenses were chosen and maintained in their charge, but to the end that their zeale may the better appeare, we will insert in the Chapter following a letter which one of the said Pastors writ to one of their Churches, by which it may easily appeare with how holy and sanctified affection they laboured to call the people to repentance, and to instruct them in the faith.

CHAP. XI.

An Epistle of the Pastor Barthelmew Tertian, written to the Waldensian Churches of Pragela.

Iesus

Iesus be with you.

To all our faithfull and welbeloued brethren in Christ Iesus. Health and saluation be with you all. Amen.

*an Epistle written
them 29.*

*in the name of
apostles.*



Hese are to aduertise and to aduise your brotherhood (hereby acquitting my selfe of that dutie which I owe vnto you all in the behalfe of God, principally touching the care of the saluation of your soules, according to that light of the truth which the most high God hath bestowed on vs) that it would please euery one of you to maintaine, increase, and nourish to the vtmost of your power, without diminution, those good beginnings and customes which haue bene left vnto vs by our ancestors, whereof we are no way worthy. For it would little profit vs to haue bene renewed by the fatherly instance, and the light which hath bene giuen vs of God, if we giue our selues to worldly, diabolicall, and carnall conuersations, abandoning the principall, which is God, and the saluation of our soules, for this short and temporall life. For the Lord saith in his Gospell, *What doth it profit a man to gaine the whole world, and to lose his owne soule?* For it should be better for vs neuer to haue knowne the way of righteousnesse, then hauing knowne it to do the contrary. For we shall be inexcusable, and our condemnation the greater: for there are greater and more grievous torments provided for those that haue most knowledge. Let me therefore intreate you by the loue of God, that you decrease not, but rather increase that charitie, feare and obedience which is due vnto God, and to your selues amongst your selues, and keepe all those good customes which you haue heard and vnderstood of God, by our meanes: and that you would re-
moue

move from amongst you all defaults and wants, troubling the peace, the loue, the concord, and whatsoeuer taketh from you the seruice of God, your owne saluation, and the administration of the truth, if you desire that God should be mercifull vnto you in your goods temporall and spirituall. For you can do nothing without him; and if you desire to be heires of his glorie, do that which he commandeth: If you will enter into life keepe my commandements. Likewise be carefull that there be not nourished amongst you any sports, gluttony, whoredome, dancings, nor any leudnesse or riot, nor questions, nor deceits, nor vsury, nor discords; neither support or entertaine any persons that are of a wicked conuersation, or that giue any scandall or ill example amongst you, but let charitie and fidelitie reigne amongst you, & all good example; doing to one another as euery one desires should be done vnto himselfe. For otherwise it is not possible that any man should be saued, or can haue the grace either of God or man in this world, or glorie in another. And it is necessarie that the conductors principally should haue a hand herein, and such as rule and gouerne. For when the head is sicke all the members are likewise ill affected. And therefore if you hope and desire to possesse eternall life, to liue in good esteeme and credit, and to prosper in this world in your goods temporall and spirituall, purge your selues from all disorderly waies, to the end that God may be alwayes with you, who neuer forsaketh those that trust in him. But know this for a certaine, that God heareth not nor dwelleth with sinners, nor in the soule that is giuen vnto wickednesse, nor in the man that is subiect vnto sin. And therefore let euery one cleanse the wayes of his heart, and flie the danger if he would not perish therein. I haue no other thing to write at this present, but that you would

put

put in practise these things: And the God of peace be with you all, and accompanie vs in our true, deuout, and humble prayers, that he will be pleased to saue all those his faithfull that trust in Christ Iesus.

Wholly yours Barthelmew Tertian, readie to do you seruice in all things possible according vnto the will of God.

This Epistle of the Pastor Tertian giues vs assurance of that holy affection which they had to leade the people of God; but the Confession of the faith of the Waldenses found in the bookes of those Pastors aboue mentioned, shall shew vs more clearly how pure their beliefe hath bene, and how farre from those heresies and errors that haue bene imputed vnto them. And that therefore they haue bene very vniustly persecuted.

CHAP. XII.

The Confession of the faith of the Waldenses.

We beleue & do firmly hold all that which is contained in the twelue Articles of the Simbole which is called the Apostles creed: and we account all that for heresie which agreeth not with the said twelue Articles.

We beleue that there is one God, the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost.

We acknowledge for holy & Canonically Scripture the books of the Bible, that is to say, the true books of Moses.

Genesis.

Exodus.

Leuiticus.

Numbers.

Deuteronomie.

The booke of Ioshua.

The Iudges.

Ruth.

1. of Samuel.

2. of Samuel.

I

1. of

Article 1.
Taken out of
the booke intituled the Spirituall Almanack, and from the Memorials of George Morel.
Art. 2.

Art. 3.

1. of Kings.	The Lamentat. of Ieremie.
2. of Kings.	Ezechiel.
1. of the Chronicles.	Daniel.
2. of the Chronicles.	Hosea.
1. Esdras.	Ioel.
Nehemiah.	Amos.
Ester.	Obadiah.
Iob.	Jonah.
The booke of Psalmes.	Micah.
The Prouerbes of Salomon.	Nahum.
Ecclesiastes.	Habakuk.
The song of Salomon.	Zephaniah.
The Prophecie of Isaiah.	Haggai.
The Prophecie of Ieremie.	Zachariah.
	Malachi.

The Apocryphall bookes are these that follow, which are not receiued of the Hebrēwes, but we reade them (saith *S. Hierome* in his prologue to the Prouerbs, for the instruction of the people, not to confirme the authoritie of Ecclesiasticall doctrines: that is to say,

The third booke of Esdras.	Ester after the 10. chap. to the end.
The fourth of Esdras.	
Tobiah.	The song of the 3. children.
Iudith.	The historie of Susanna.
Wisdom.	The historie of the Dragon.
Ecclesiasticus.	1. Maccabees.
Baruch, with the Epistle of Ieremie.	2. Maccabees.
	3. Maccabees.

Here follow the bookes of the new Testament.

The Gospell according to S.	Mathew.
	Marke.
	Luke.
	Iohn.

The

The Acts of the Apostles.	The first to Timothie.
The Epistle of <i>S. Paul</i> to the Romans.	The second to Timothie.
The first to the Corinth.	To Titus.
The 2. to the Corinthians.	To Philemon.
The Epistle to the Galat.	To the Hebrewes.
The Epist. to the Ephesians	The Epistle of <i>S. James</i> .
The Epistle to the Philip- pians.	The 1. Epistle of <i>S. Peter</i> .
The Epistle to the Colos.	The second of <i>S. Peter</i> .
The first to the Thessal.	The 1. Epistle of <i>S. Iohn</i> .
The second to the Thessa- lonians.	The second of <i>S. Iohn</i> .
	The third of <i>S. Iohn</i> .
	The Epistle of <i>S. Iude</i> .
	The Reuelation of <i>S. Iohn</i> .

The bookes aboue named teach thus much, that there is one God almightie, wholly wise and wholly good, who hath made all things by his goodnesse. For he created *Adam* according to his owne image and similitude: but by the malice of the diuell, and the disobedience of *Adam*, sinne entred into the world, and we are made sinners in *Adam*, and by *Adam*.

That Christ was promised to our forefathers, who receiued the Law, to the end that knowing their sin by the Law, and their vnrighteousnesse and insufficiencie, they might desire the coming of Christ, to the end he might satisfie for their sins, and accomplish the Law by himselfe.

That Christ was borne at the time appointed by God his Father, that is to say, at a time when all iniquitie abounded, and not for our good workes sake onely: for all were sinners; but to the end he might offer his grace and mercie vnto vs.

That Christ is our life, and truth, and peace, and iustice, and Aduocate, and Pastor, and sacrifice, and sacrificer, who died for the saluation of all those that beleue, and

and is raised againe for our iustification.

Art. 8.

We do also firmly hold, that there is no other mediator and aduocate with God the Father but onely Iesus Christ. And as touching the Virgine *Marie*, that she is holy, humble, and full of grace; and so do we beleue of all the other Saints, that they attend in heauen the resurrection of their bodies at the day of iudgement.

Art. 9.

We do also beleue that after this life, there are onely two places: the one for those that shall be saued, the other for the damned, which we call Paradise and Hell, denying altogether Purgatory, as being a dreame of Antechrist, and inuented against the truth.

Art. 10.

We haue also alwayes beleued, that the inuentions of men are an vspeakable abomination before God, as the feasts and the vigils of Saints, holy water, the abstaining vpon certaine dayes from flesh, and such like, but principally the Masses.

Art. 11.

We do abhorre all humane inuentions, as coming from Antechrist, all which bring troubles with them, and are preiudiciall to the libertie of the spirit.

Art. 12.

We beleue that the Sacraments are outward signes of holy things, or visible formes of inuisible grace; and are of opinion that it is good that the faithfull do sometimes vse those signes and visible formes, if it may be done: But neuerthelesse we beleue and do hold, that the aforesaid faithfull may be saued, not receiuing the said signes, when they want place or power to vse them.

Art. 13.

We do not acknowledge any other Sacrament but Baptisme and the Eucharist.

Art. 14.

We do honour the secular power, with all subiection, obedience, promptitude and payment.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Another Confession of the faith of the waldenses.



We beleue that there is one onely God, who is a Spirit, the Creator of all things, the Father of all, who is aboue all, and in vs all, who is to be adored in spirit and truth, vpon whom onely we waite, and to whom we giue all glorie for our life, our nourishment, clothing, health, sicknesse, prosperitie, aduersitie: we loue him as the author of all goodnesse, we feare him as knowing our hearts.

Art. 1.
Taken out of
the booke of
Charles du Mou-
lin de la Mon.
des François.
p. 65.

We beleue that Iesus Christ is the Sonne and image of his father; that in him dwels the fulnesse of the diuinitie; by whom we know the Father, who is our mediator and aduocate, and there is no other name vnder heauen given vnto men by which we can be saued; in whose name onely we call vpon the Father, and vse no other prayers but those that are contained in the holy Scriptures, or agreeing vnto them in substance.

We beleue that the holy Ghost is our Comforter, proceeding from the Father and the Sonne, by whose inspiration we make our prayers, being renewed by him, who doth all good works in vs, and by him we haue knowledge of all truth.

We beleue that there is one holy Church, which is the congregation of all the elect and faithfull, which haue benefrom the beginning of the world, and shall be vnto the end, whereof our Lord Iesus Christ is the head: the which Church is gouerned by his word, and guided by the holy Ghost, in which all good Christians ought to remaine: for it prayeth without ceassing for all, and the

word thereof is agreeable vnto God, without which no man can be saued.

Art. 5.

We hold that the Ministers of the Church ought to be irreprehensible both in life and doctrine, otherwise they are to be depofed from their office, and other to be substituted in their place. And that no man ought to presume to vndertake this honourable calling, but onely he which is called of God as *Aaron*, nourishing the flocke of Christ, not for dishonest gaine, or as hauing any superioritie ouer the Clergie, but as being an example to the flocke, in word, in conuersation, in charitie, in faith, and in chastiitie.

Art. 6.

We confesse that Kings, Princes, and Gouvernours are ordained and established Ministers of God, to whom we are to obey. For they carrie the sword for the defence of innocents and the punishment of malefactors; and for this cause are we bound to do them honour, and to pay tribute. From which power and authoritie no man can exempt himselfe, as may appeare be the example of our Lord Iesus Christ, who refused not to pay tribute, not challenging any iurisdiction of temporall power.

Art. 7.

We belecue, that in the Sacrament of Baptisme the water is the visible and externall signe, which representeth vnto vs that which by the power and vertue of God inuisible, so working, is within vs, that is to say, renouation of the spirit, and mortification of our members in Iesus Christ, by which we are also receiued into the holy congregation of the people of God, protesting and declaring before it our faith and change of life.

Art. 8.

We hold the holy Sacrament of the table or Supper of our Lord Iesus Christ, to be a holy remembrance and thanksgiuing for the benefits which we haue receiued by his death and passion, which is to be receiued in faith

faith and charitie, examining our selues, that so we may eate of that bread and drinke of that cup, as it is written in the holy Scripture.

We confesse, that mariage is good and honourable, Art. 9.
holy and instituted of God, which ought to be forbidden to none, if there be no impediment by the word of God.

We confesse that they that feare God, seeke the things Art. 10.
that please him, doing good workes, the which he hath prepared to the end we should walke in them, which are charitie, joy, peace, patience, benignitie, goodnesse, mildnesse, sobrietie, and other workes contained in the holy Scriptures.

On the contrary, we confesse that we are to take heed Art. 11.
of false teachers, whose end is to call the people from the true worship of God, and to rest themselves vpon creatures, putting their confidence in them, as also to perswade the people to leaue those good duties that are contained in the holy Scriptures, and to do those that are inuented by men.

We hold the old and new Testament for the rule of Art. 12.
our faith, & we agree to the generall Confession of faith, with those articles contained in the Symbole of the Apostles, which doth thus begin, *I beleue in God the Father Almighty, &c.*

And for as much as the Pastors of the *Waldenses* taught their people the *Athanasian Creed* in the *Waldensian* language, we haue taken it out of their bookes, word by word as they pronounced it in old time.

CHAP. XIII.

The Symbole of Athanasius in the Waldensian language.

E Valquequal vol esser fait salf devant totas cosas es de necessita tenir la fe Catholica, laqual si alcun non tenre entierament sensa dubi perire eternalment. Ma aquesta es la fe Catholica. Que nos honran vn Dio en Trinita, & la Trinita en vnita, non confondent personnas, ni departent la substantia. Car autra es la persona del Paire, & del Filli, & del Sanct Esperit. Lo Paire non crea, lo filli non crea, lo Sanct Esperit non crea. Lo Paire non mesuriuol, lo Filli non mesuriuol, lo Sanct Esperit non mesuriuol. Lo Paire Eternal, lo Filli Eternal, lo Sanct Esperit Eternal. Emperço non tres Eternals, ma vn Eternal, enaimi non tres mesuriuols, & non crea. Semeillament lo Paire tot Poissant, lo Filli tot poissant, & lo Sanct Esperit tot Poissant, emperço, non tres tot Poissants, ma vn tot Poissant. Enaimi lo Paire es Dio, lo Filli Dio, lo Sanct Esperit Dio, emperço non tres Dios, ma vn Dio. Enaimi lo Paire es Seigneur, lo Filli Seigneur, lo Sanct Esperit Seigneur, emperço, non tres Seignors, ma vn Seigneur. Ca enaimi nos sen castreit confessar per Christiana verita, vna chascuna persona Dio o Seigneur, enaimi per Catholica Religion, nos sen defendu dire esser tres Dios ni tres Seignors. Lo Filli es sol del Paire, non fait, ni crea, ma engendra, lo Sanct Esperit es del Paire, & del Filli, non fait, ni crea, ni engendra ma procedent. Donc lo es vn Paire, non tres Paires, vn Filli, non tres filli, vn Sanct Esperit, non tres Sanct Esperits. En aquesta Trinita alcuna cosa non es premiera ni derniera, alcuna cosa maior, o menor, ma totas tres personas entre lor son ensems Eternals, & eygals. Enaimi que per totas cosas coma es dict de sobre, la sia dhonorar la Trinita en Vnita, & l'Vni-

ta en Trinita. Donc aquel que vole esser fait salf senta enaima de la Trinita. Ma a la salut eternal es necessari creyre fidelment l'encarnation del nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ. Donc la fe dreita es que nos crean, & confessan que lo nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ filli de Dio, es Dio & home. Et es Dio engendra auant li segle, de la substantia del Paire, & es home na al segle de la substantia de la Maire, essent perfect Dio, & perfect home: d'animarational & d'humana carn, aigal del Paire second la Diuinita, & menor second l'humanita. Lo qual iaciço quel sia Dio & home, emperço lo es vn Christ & non dui, ma vn, non per conuersion de la Diuinita en carn, ma propiament de la Humanita en Dio, vn totalment, non per confusion de la Diuinita en carn, ma propiament de la humanita en Dio: vn totalment, non per confusion de substantia ma per vnita de personnas. Car enaima larma rational, & la carn, es vn home, enaima Dio & home es vn Christ loqual est passionna per la nostra salut, descende en li enfern, lo ters iorn resuscite de li mort, & monte en li cel, & see a la dextra de Dio lo Paire Omnipotent. Daqui es a venir iugear li viu & li mort. Aladuenament delqual tuit an a resuscitar, cum li lor corps, & son a rendre raçon de li lor propri fait. Et aquilli que auran fait ben, anaren en vita eterna, & aquilli que auran fait mal anaran al fuoc eternal.

The beliefe of the Waldenses is sufficiently knowne by that which is contained in the pure & holy doctrines of their confessions aboue mentioned: and yet neuertheless it is for the same that they haue bene persecuted for the space of foure hundred and fiftie yeares, & still should be if they liued neare those places where humane inuentions are preferred before the word of God. For though Satan be confounded, and his kingdome dissipated by the brightnesse of the Gospell, yet he ceasseth not to hold those vnder the yoke of Idolatrie, whose vnderstan-

dings he hath blinded, and to keepe them by violence vnder the tyrannie of his lawes, hiding that ignorance and error that men do naturally loue, in those darkneses wherein they take pleasure. But as it hath not pleased the eternall God, that the faith of his seruants and Martyrs should be buried, so it likewise pleaseth him, that their constancie should be made manifest for our edification and example. And this is the reason why hauing shewed in the first booke that the *waldenses* beleued to saluation what was necessary, I haue thought good to publish in the second booke that which is come to my knowledge of their sufferings for righteousness.

The end of the first Booke.

THE

PART OF THE CATALOGVE OF
the *waldenses* bookes, being accidentally omitted
in page 44. after the 30. line, are here inserted
as followeth.

A Commentarie or paraphrase vpon the Symbole of the Apostles.

A Treatise of the Sacraments.

A Commentarie or Paraphrase vpon the Commandements.

A Commentarie vpon the Lords prayer.

A Treatise of Fasting.

A Treatise of Tribulation.

A little Catechisme intituled, Interrogations menors.

A Treatise against dancing and tauernes.

A Treatise of foure things to come, that is to say, death vnto all: eternall life to the good: hell to the wicked: and the last iudgement.

A Treatise entituled, *Del Purgatori soima*: that is to say, Of the dreame or inuention of Purgatory.

A Treatise against the inuocation of Saints.

We haue also a booke very ancient whereof the title is, *Aeyço es la causa del nostre dispartimēt de la Gleisa Romana*. That is to say, This is the cause of our separation from the Church of Rome.

In this volume there is an Epistle or Apologie of the *waldenses* entituled, *La Epistola al Serenissimo Rey Lancelau, a li Ducs, Barons, & a li plus weil del regne: lo petit tropel de li Chriſtians appella per fals nom falsamente P. O. V.* that is to say, Poore or *waldenses*.

There is also a booke, wherein there are many Sermons of their Barbes, and an Epistle called, The Epistle to our friends, containing many excellent doctrines to teach.

teach all sorts of people how to leade their liues in all ages.

In the same volume there is a booke entituled, *Sacerdotium*, wherein is shewed what is the charge of a good Pastor, and what the punishment of a wicked.

There is also come to our hands, a booke of poetry in the Waldensian tongue, wherein are these Treatises following. A prayer entituled, New comfort. A rithme of the foure sorts of seeds mentioned in the Gospell. Another entituled Barque. And one called, The noble lesson, of which book *Le Sieur de Saint Aldegonde* makes mention.

In his first
Table p. 153.

We haue also an excellent Treatise entituled, *Ver-gier de consolation*, containing many good instructions, confirmed by the Scriptures and diuers authorities of the Ancients.

Also an old Treatise in parchment entituled, Of the Church: and another called, The Treasure and light of faith.

Also a booke entituled, The spirituall Almanacke.

Also a booke in parchment, Of the meanes to separate things precious from the base & contemptible, that is to say, vertues from vices.

Also the booke of *George Morel*, wherein are contained all the questions which *George Morel* and *Peter Mascon* moued to *Oecolampadius* and *Bucer* touching religion, and the answers of the said parties.



THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE HISTORY

OF THE WALDENSES:

Containing that which is come to our knowledge, of the grienous persecutions which they haue endured for their Faith, for the space of more then foure hundred and fifty yeeres.

CHAP. I.

By whom the Waldenses haue been persecuted, for what, by what meanes, and in what times.



THE Waldenses haue had no greater enemies then the *Rainerius* of the Waldenses. Popes, because, saith the *Monsk Rainerius*, that amongst all those that haue raised themselves against the Church of Rome, the Waldenses haue been alwaies the most dangerous and pernicious, in so much that they haue resisted him for a long time; as also because this Sect, (saith he) is more generall, for there is not almost any
A a Country

Country in which it hath not taken footing. And thirdly, because all other by their blasphemies against God, strike a horror into mens hearts; But this on the contrary, hath a great appearance of piety, for they carry themselves vprightly before men, and beleue rightly touching God in all things, holding all the Articles that are contained in the Simbole, hating and reuiling the Church of *Rome*, and therein (saith he) they are easily beleueed of the people.

*Rainer. cap. de
studio peruer-
tendi alios &
modo docendi.
fol. 98.*

And in another place the said *Rainerius* saith, that the first lesson that the *Waldenses* giue to those whom they winne to their Sect, is this, that they teach them what the Disciples of Christ ought to be, and that by the words of the Gospell and the Apostles, affirming, that they onely are the Successors of the Apostles, that immitate their life. Inferring thereby (saith hee) that the Pope, the Bishoppes and Clergy, that possesse and inioy the riches of this world, and seek after them, follow not the examples of the Apostles, and therefore are not the true guides of the Church, it neuer being the purpose of Christ Iesus, to commit his chaste and beloued spouse, to those who rather prostitute her by their ill examples, and wicked actions, then preferue her in that purity wherein they received her at the beginning, a virgin chaste and without spot.

In hatred therefore of diuers discourses which the *Waldenses* haue written against the luxury, auarice, pride, and errors brought in by the Pope, they haue alwaies persecuted them to the death.

The meanes they haue vsed vtterly to exterminate them, haue been in the first place their thunderbolts, curses, cannons, constitutions, decrees, and whatsoever else might make them odious to the Kings, Prin-

ces,

ces, and people of the earth, giuing them ouer, asinuch as lies in their power, vnto Satan, interdicting them all communion and society with those that obey their lawes, iudging them vnworthy and vncapable of any charges, honours, profits, or to inherit, or to make willes, or to beburied in common church-yards, confiscating their goods, dis-inheriting their heires, and where they could by any meanes apprehend them, they haue condemned them to be deliuered to the secular power, their houses to be razed, their lands and moueables confiscated, or giuen to the first conquerour. And of all these sentences we haue at this day the scedule, giuen by the Popes, with the instruments which they haue employed to such executions, as also of the commands which they haue giuen vnto Kings, Princes, Magistrates, Consuls and People, to make an exact inquisition, to shut the gates of the City, to craue the assistance, and best helpe of the people, to ring the Tol-bell, to arme themselves: and if otherwise they cannot be apprehended, to kill them, and to vse all manner of violence, which they shall see needfull in such a case: Giuing to the accusers the third part, or some other portion of that which shall bee confiscated, all counsellors and fauourers of them being condemned to the same punishment.

And forasmuch as no Prince or Magistrate, or any other had any power to frame a proces against any in the fact of pretended heresie, commandement was giuen to the Bishops, every one in his iurisdiction, to make an inquiry into their flockes, and take notice how every particular person was affected, to the ordinances of the Popes, and the Church of *Rome*. So when *Waldo* began to complaine and to cry

These sentences are to bee seen in the manuel of the Inquisitors, with the letters of Pope Alexander the thirteenth & of diuers other Popes which succeeded him.

This Council
was held at
Latran. 1180.
See the 17.
Chap.

out against the corruptions, of the said Church of *Rome*. *Alexander* the third then Pope, enioyned the Archbishop of *Lion* to proceed against him; and forasmuch as the said Prelate did not banish him according and as soon as he desired, he speedily assembled a Councell, where he excommunicated *Waldo*, and all those that followed his doctrine, though it were vnder other names.

But this meanes was thought to be too easie for so pressing an action as this of the *Waldenses* was, who ceased not for all those thunderbolts, to preach, that the Pope was *Antichrist*, the *Masse* an abomination, the *Hoste* an idoll, and *Purgatory* a fable. Points that being receiued were sufficient to ouerthrow all the authority of the Pope, & to drie vp all the riuers of gaine and greafe of the Clergy. And therefore *Innocent* the third, who succeeded Pope *Celestine* the third of that name, about the yeer 1198, tooke another course then that of the ordinary Bishoppes, to frame the proces against the *Waldenses*, and others whom he called Heretickes. He authorized certaine Monkes, who had the full power of the Inquisition in their hands, and framed the Proces, deliuered to the secular power, by a full and absolute authority, and a far shorter way, but much more cruell, deliuering the people by thousands into the hands of the Magistrates, & the Magistrates to the executioners; whereby in a few yeers, all Christendome was much moued by those pittifull & lamentable spectacles, to see all those burnt or hanged, that did trust only in one Lord Iesus Christ for their saluation, and renounced the vaine hopes inuented by men, & for their profit, which was all the fruit of that afore said Inquisition, which we shall speake of in the Chapter following.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Inquisition: by whom it was first put in practise: by what subtilties and cruelties the *Waldenses* haue been vexed by it.



IN the beginning of the prosecution of the Popes, vtterly to exterminate the *Waldenses*, they were content with the meanes aboue mentioned in the precedent Chapter, but either because the busines went but slowly forward, or because notwithstanding those meanes, the number increased in such manner, of those that beleued, that these meanes were found to be weake, it was resolved by Pope *Innocent* the third, to assay whether by the way of preaching hee could obtain that, which by violence he could neuer doe. He sent therefore certaine Bishops and Monkes, who preached in those places of the *Waldenses* that were suspected to profess their religion; but as he saith, that writ the *Treasure of Histories*, the said Preachers conuerted not any, but a few poore people, but for the most part (saith he) they still persisted in the profession of their faith. In *Gallia Narbonensi* there were employed two Monkes, that is to say, *Pierre de Chateaufort*, and *Dominique* born at *Calahorre* in *Spain*, to whom they ioyned a certain Abbot of *Cisteaux*, and in a throng, as it were together, there came many other Priests and Monkes, & amongst the rest a certain Bishop of *Cestre*. The Monke *Pierre de Chateaufort* was slain in this busines, and for that canonized for a Saint. *Dominique*

The Treat. of
Hist. in the
yeere 1106.

Lib. Inquisi.
cap. de non oc-
cidendo. fol.
100.

Sic fuit occisus
Sanctus Petrus
de Ordine fra-
trum Predica-
torum.

A a 3

conti.

continued in his persecution of the *Waldenses* both in deed and word. This Monke seeing himselfe to bee in authority, instituted an Order of *begging Monkes*, who after his name were callad *Dominicans*, and the said Monke was canonized, and his Order confirmed by Pope *Honorius*, being warned (saith hee) to doe it, by a dreame. For it seemed to him, that the Church of *Rome* was falling, and that *Dominique* vpheld it with his shoulders, in recompence whereof, the said Pope commanded that the said Order should haue the first place among the *Mendicants*.

adones qui mendicant.

Mandians.

The Martiro-
loge in the
life of Domi-
nique.

It is said of this Monke, that his mother when shee went with childe with him, shee did dreame, that shee had in her wombe a dogge that cast out flames of fire out of his throat. His followers interpret this to his aduantage, as if hereby we were giuen to vnderstand, that hee should be that dogge, that should vomit out that fire, which should consume the Heretikes: But on the contrary, they whom hee euery day deliuered vnto death, might well say that hee was the dogge, that had set on fire all Christendome, and that the flames that came out of his throat, doe note vnto vs, those fiery and infernall sentences which he pronounced against the Christians. Howsoever hee caried himselfe so well in these affaires, that before hee died, he built many goodly houses in *Languedoc*, *Prouence*, *Dolphine*, *Spaine*, and elsewhere, by which hee had obtained great reuenues, either from the liberality of those that affected his Order, or the Confiscations of the *Waldenses*, by which the Count *Simon of Montfort* gaue him great priuiledges and almes, as cutting large thongs of another mans leather.

He laboured in the Inquisition as the chiefe, with such

such contentment to the Popes, that from that time forward, the Monkes of his Order, haue been alwaies employed in the Inquisition.

The power giuen to these Monkes Inquisitors, was without limits. For they could assemble the people, whensoever it pleased them, by the sound of a bell, proceed against the Bishops themselves, and send out proces, if there were need, to imprison, and to open the prisons without controule. All manner of accusations was available enough: A Sorcerer, a Harlot were sufficient witnesses, without reproch, in the fact of pretended heresie. It was no matter who did accuse, or whether by word of mouth, or by tickets cast in before the Inquisitor, for without any personall appearance, or confronting one another, the the proces were framed, without party, without witness, and without other law, then the pleasure of the Inquisitor. To be rich was a crime neere vnto heresie, and he that had any thing to lose, was in the way to bee vndone, either as an Hereticke, or at the least, as a fauourer of heretikes. One bare suspicion stopped the mouthes of fathers and mothers, and kinsfolke, that they durst not intercede for punishments to come, and he that did intreat for the conuey of a cup of cold water, or a little straw to lye vpon in some stinking dungeon, was condemned for a fauourer of Heretickes, and brought to the same or worse extremities. There was no Aduocate that durst vndertake the defence of his nearest kinsman or friend, or Notary that durst receiue any act in his fauour. And that which was more, after that a man was once intangled within the snares of the Inquisition, he could neuer liue in any assurance, for hee was alwaies to beginne againe.

again: For if any man were set at liberty, it was only for a time till they might better consider of it. Death it selfe made not an end of the punishment, for they haue left vnto vs certaine coppies of their sentences against the bones of the dead, to dis-interre and to burne them, yea thirty yeeres after the decease of the party accused. They that were heires had nothing certaine, for vpon any accusation of their fathers or kindred, they durst not vndertake the defence of their owne right, or possesse their owne inheritance, without the crime, or suspicion of Heresie, and that they rather inherited their bad faith and opinions then their goods. The people, yea the most mighty and richest amongst them, were constrained, in a manner, to adore these Monkes the Inquisitors, and to bestow vpon them great Presents for the building of their Couents and dotations of their houses, for feare to be accused of Heresie, and not to be esteemed zealous for the faith of those holy fathers. And the better to entertaine men with an apprehension of these things, they sometimes made shewes and brauadoes of their prisoners, leading them in triumph at their Processions, some being enioyned to whip themselues, others to goe couered after the manner of *S^t. Benedicts*, that is to say, with certaine red Cassockes with yellow crosses, to signifie that they were such as had been conuincd of some errour, and that at the first offence they should afterward commit, they were already condemned for Heretickes. Others appeared in their shirts, bare-foote and bare-headed, with a with about their neckes, a torch in their hands; that being thus prepared and furnished, they might giue terror to the beholders, to see such persons of all estates and sex,

brought

brought to so miserable a condition, being all forbid to enter into the Church, but to stay in the porch, or to cast an eye vpon the Hostie when it was shewed by the Priest; vntill it was otherwise determined by the Fathers the Inquisitors.

And for the full accomplishment of the contentment of the said Fathers, their accused were exiled for a penance, into the holy Land, or enrolled for some other expedition against the *Turkes* or other Infidels, leuied by the command of the Pope, to serue the Church for a certaine time at their owne charge: and in the meane time, the said holy Fathers tooke possession of the goods of the poore Pilgrims; and that which was worst of all, at their returne, they must not enquire whether the said Monkes had in their absence any priuate familiarity with their wiues, for feare lest they should be condemned for back-sliders, impenitent, and altogether vnworthy of any fauour.

Now these violences being executed from the yeer a thousand two hundred and six, which was about the time that *Dominique* erected his Inquisition, to the yeere one thousand two hundred twenty eight, there was so great a hauock made of poore Christians, that the Archbishops of *Aix*, *Arles*, and *Narbonne*, being assembled together at *Aignon*, in the said yeere 1228, at the instance of the said Monkes the Inquisitors, to confer with them about diuers difficulties in the execution of their charge, had compassion of the misery of a great number that were accused, and kept in prison by the said Monkes the Inquisitors, saying:

It is come to our knowledge, that you haue apprehended so great a number of the *Waldenses*, that it is not only not possible to defray the charge of their

B b nourish-

See the Catal.
of the Test. of
the truth, pag.
534.

nourishment, but to prouide lyme and stone to build prisons for them; we therefore counsell you (say they) that you defer a little such imprisonments, vntill the Pope may bee aduertised of the great numbers that haue been apprehended, and that he doe aduise what pleaseth him to bee done; if not, there is no reason you should take offence for those that are impenitent and incorigible, or that you should doubt of their relaps, or that they should escape away, or hauing their liberty should infect others, because you may condemne such persons without delay.

Vous sçistez.

There needs no other prooffe then this of the aforesaid Prelats, to make it appeare that the number of those whom the Inquisition had deliuered vnto death, was very great. For touching the question moued by the said Inquisitors, whether they that haue frequented the company of the *Waldenses*, and haue receiued the Supper of the Lord with them, are to be excused, because they say they offended out of ignorance, not knowing that they were *Waldenses*: The the answer of the said Prelats was, that they were not to be excused; Because (say they) who is so great a stranger, as not to know that the *Waldenses* haue been punished and condemned for these many yeers since, and who knoweth, not that for a long time they haue been pursued and persecuted at the charge and trauell of Catholics, this pursuit being sealed by so many persons condemned to death; if it cannot be called in to doubt.

And yet neuertheles, the speech of the said Prelats being conferred, with that which *George Morell*, in the yeer a thousand five hundred and thirty, hath written, it would be none of the least wonders that God hath wrought

wrought, that notwithstanding the bloody persecutions after *Waldo* his time, in the yeere a thousand one hundred sixty, there were according to the report of *Morell*, aboue eight hundred thousand persons that made profession of the faith of the said *Waldenses*.

George Morell
in his memo-
rials. pa. 54.

As touching the subtleties of the said Inquisitors, we should not haue had any knowledge thereof, but from such as haue escaped from the Inquisition of *Spain*, but that it was the will of God that their cunning trickes should not bee so closely hid, but that wee had examples thereof euen from themselves.

Behold then the crafty subtleties of the Inquisitors, which serued them for a rule in the framing of their proces against the *Waldenses*.

It is not expedient to dispute of matter of faith before lay-people.

No man shall be held for a penitent man, if he accuse not those that he knowes to be such as himselfe.

He that accuseth not those that are like vnto himself, shall be cut off from the Church, as a rotten member, for feare lest the members that are sound, should be corrupted by him.

After that any one hath been deliuered to the secular power, great care must bee taken, that hee bee not suffered to excuse himselfe, or to manifest his innocencie before the people: because if he be deliuered to death, it is a scandall to the lay-people; and if hee make an escape, there is danger of his loyalty.

Good heed must bee taken, not to promise life vnto him that is condemned to death, before the people, considering that an Heretike will neuer suffer himselfe to bee burnt, if hee may escape by such promises.

Bb 2

And

And if he shall promise to repent before the people, if he haue not his life granted vnto him, there will arise a scandall amongst them, and it will be thought that he is wrongfully put to death.

Note (say they) that the Inquisitor ought alwaies to presuppose the fact, without any condition, and is onely to enquire of the circumstances of the fact, as thus: how often hast thou confessed thy selfe vnto Heretickes? In what chamber of the house haue they layen, and the like things.

The Inquisitor may looke into any booke, as if he found there written, the life of him that is accused, and of all that he enquires of.

It is necessary to threaten death to the accused, if he confesse not, and to tell him the fact is too manifest, that it is fit he should thinke of his soule, and renounce his Heresie, for he must die, and therefore it shall bee good for him to take patiently whatsoever shall light vpon him. And if he shall answer; since I must die, I had rather die in that faith I professe, then in that of the Romish Church, then conclude for certaine, that before he made but a shew of repentance, and so let him suffer iustice.

Wee must not thinke to vanquish Heretickes by learning or by the scriptures, inasmuch as men that are learned, are rather confounded by them, whereby it comes to passe, that the Heretickes fortifie themselves, seeing they are able to delude the most learned.

Againe, great heed must bee taken that the Heretikes neuer answer directly, and when they are pressed by frequent interrogations, they haue a custome to alledge for themselves, that they are simple and foolish people,

people, and therefore know not how to answere. And if they shall once see the assistants to bee moued with compassion towards them, as if they should doe them wrong, thinking them to be simple people, and therefore not culpable; then they gather heart, and make a shew of shedding teares like poore miserable creatures, and flattering their iudges, they endeauour to free themselves from the Inquisition, saying: Sir, If I haue been faulty in any thing, I will willingly doe penance, but yet giue me your aide and assistance to deliuer me from this infamy, into which I am fallen by the malice of others, not mine owne fault.

But then the couragious Inquisitor must not yeeld for all these flatteries, nor giue any beliefe to those dissimulations.

Moreouer the Inquisitor must tell them, that they shall gaine nothing by swearing falsely, because they haue enough to conuince them by witnesses; and therefore they must not thinke, that by meanes of their oath they shall auoide the sentence of death; but they must promise them (say they) that if they will freely confesse their error, they shall haue mercy; for in such perplexities, there are many, that confesse their error in hope to escape.

Thus you see the subtilties of the Monkes the Inquisitors, such as they practised in times past, against the *Waldenses* throughout all Europe: It remains that we now see what their practise hath been in euery particular Realme and Prouince, so far forth as is come to our knowledge. And first we will begin with *Dauphine*, because it is the Prouince into which *Waldo* and his followers retired themselves at their departure from *Lion*.

CHAP. III.

Of the Waldensian Churches in Dauphine, and the persecutions which they haue suffered, which are come to our knowledge.



THe Waldensian Churches in Dauphine, haue been for these many hundred yeeres spread abroad throughout diuers parts of the Prouince. For they haue had Churches in *Valentia*, where at this present there are places, wherein times out of mind, the faith of the *Waldenses* hath been receiued from the father to the sonne, as the place *des Faulques*, and *Beauregard* in *Valentia*, and *La Baulme* neere *Crest*; out of which places there are come to our hands certaine proces against some particular persons of the same places, for being accused by the Inquisitors as adhearing to the faith of the *Waldenses* about three hundred yeeres since. But the more famous Churches of the saide Prouince, are those of the Valley of *Fraissiniere*, neere *Ambrun*, of *Argentierie*, of the Valley *Loyse*, which for the *Waldenses* sakes was called *Val luse*, as if there had been nothing in the said Valley but a Brothel-house, and receptacle of all manner of dissolute liuing and villany. This was vtterly rooted out. On the other side of the Alpes, there is a valley called the Valley of *Pragela*, where they haue inhabited time out of minde. A Valley that is in the iurisdiction of the Arch-bishop of *Turin*, peopled euen at this present with those that are descended from the first *Waldenses*, of whom men-
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Chap. 3. of the *Waldenses*.

tion hath been made heretofore. They were the inhabitants of this Valley that peopled the *Waldensian* Valleies of *Piedmont*, *La Perouse*, *Saint Martin*, *Angrongue* and others; as also those of the *Waldenses* inhabited in *Prouence*, and *Calabria*, are come out of those places of *Dauphine*, and *Piedmont*. In said Valley of *Pragela*, there are at this day, six goodly Churches, euery one hauing their Pastor, and euery Pastor hauing diuers villages, which belong to euery one of these Churches, all filled with those that haue descended from the ancient *Waldenses*. They are Churches truely reformed time out of minde. For although in the said Valley, there are at this present old people, and not a small number that draw neere, yea and some that are about a hundred yeere old, yet these good old men, haue neuer heard of their fathers, or grand-fathers, that masse was euer sung in their times in that Country. And though perhaps the Arch-bishops of *Turin*, haue caused it to be song in the said Valley, whereof the inhabitants haue had no knowledge, yet there is not any amongst them, that makes profession of any other faith or beleefe, then that the confession whereof we haue heard in the former booke.

For all those bookes before mentioned, haue bin receiued by the Inhabitants of the said valley, which hath been in times past, one of the safest retiring places that the *Waldenses* had in all Europe, enuironed on all sides with mountaines almost vnaccesible, within the caues whereof they retired themselues in times of persecution.

Le sieur de Vignaux who was one of the first Pastors that preached to his people, long before the
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the exercise of the reformed Religion was free in *France*, could not satisfie himselfe with the liberall speech, integrity, and piety of these people, whom he found altogether disposed to receiue the dispensation of the word of God, which their fore-fathers had cherished, and in which they had instructed their posterity. And it was worthy the obseruation, that notwithstanding they were weakned on all sides, and enuironed with the enemies of their Religion, in danger to be apprehended when they went out of their doores, yet was there neuer any worldly respect that had power to alter their holy resolution, from the father to the sonne to serue God, taking his word for the rule of their faith, and his law for the rule of their obedience. And in this designe it was, that they haue been blessed of God, aboue all Christian people throughout Europe, insomuch that their infants were hardly weaned from their mothers breast, but their parents tooke a singular delight to instruct them in the Christian faith and doctrine, vntill they were able to confound many persons dwelling elsewhere well strooken in yeeres, and ouerwhelmed with ignorance.

To this passe their Pastors brought them, who not being content to giue them exhortations vpon the Sabbath daies, went also in the weeke-daies to instruct them, in the villages and hamlets thereabouts, not sparing themselues for the roughnes of the rockes, the coldnesse of the ayre, the inciuility of the country, where they were faine to clime vp high mountains to visit their flocke, and to carry vnto them the foode of their soules; euen at those times when the people in the heat of summer were keeping their cattell vpon the high rockes, and there they many times teach and instruct

struct them in the open fields. There you may see those that heare the word of God with attention and reuerence: There is discipline exercised with fruit; There the people pray with feruency of zeale, at their retaine from their labors, at night when they go toe their rest, & in the morning before they vndertake any worke; First in their priuate houses, then in the Temple they begge the assistance of the Lord in all their actions, thoughts, words, and deeds, and so betake themselues to their labours, vnder the protection of the liuing God, whom they loue, and honour and adore. There you may descry more zeale, and more simplicity, then in many other places, that abound in the delights and pleasures of this world; neither are they so rude and blockish, but that they haue diuers amongst them that can reade, and deliuer their mindes in good tearmes, especially they that trauell sometimes into the lower Countries for their commodities; they haue Schooles wherein their children are taught and nurtured, neither doe they want any thing they thinke necessary to aduance the glory of God amongst them.

The first persecution that is come to our knowledge, was that, which was moued by a certain Monke Inquisitor of the Order of the Frier-Minors, named *Francis Borelli*, hauing a Commission in the yeere 1380, to make inquiry and to informe touching the Sect of the Waldenses, in the Dioces of *Aix, Arles, Ambrun, Vienna, Geneva, Aubonne, Savoy, the Venetian County, Dyois, Forests, the Principality of Orange, the City of Anignon and Selon*, as his Bull gaue him authority, which he receiued from *Clement* the seuenth, who then was Resident and ruled in

C c.

Anignon.

Anno 1380.

This Bull was taken out of the Chamber Country of Grenoble.

Anignon. By reason of the neerenes of his Court to the habitation of the *Waldenses*; hee thought good to purge *Dauphine*, of those that held him to bee Anti-christ; and for this cause he commanded the Bishops of *Dauphine*, *Pronence*, and other places, to which his power did extend (for there was then a schisme, and all Europe was diuided, partly for *Urban* the sixt, and partly for this said *Clement*) to watch in such sort ouer their flockes, that there might not any liue amongst them that was of the Sect of the *Waldenses*.

This Monke cited to appeare before him at *Ambrun*, all the inhabitants of *Erasiniere*, *Argentiere*, and the valley *Pute*, vpon paine of excommunication. They appeared not, nor any for them, & were therefore condemned for their contumacy, and in the end shut out of the Church, by the last and most direfull excommunication of offenders: and in the space of thirteene yeeres, during which time he alwaies caught one or other, he deliuered by sentence to the secular power to be burnt at *Grenoble*; that is to say, of the valley *Pute*, *William Marie* of *Vilar*, *Peter Long*, alias *Chastan*, *John Long*, alias *Truchi*, *Albert Vincens*, *Ioane* the wife of *Steuens Vincens*, and diuers others; that is to say, to the number of one hundred and fifty men, diuers women, with many of their sonnes and daughters well strooken in yeeres, whose names we haue not heere inserted because we would not grieue and weary the Reader.

Of the Valley of *Argentiere* and *Erasinieres*, *Astine Berarde*, *Barthelemie* the wife of *John Porti*, and others of both sexes, to the number of eighty, who were all condemned to be deliuered to the secular power; in such sort, that whensoever any one of them was apprehended, he was presently brought to *Grenoble*, and there

there without any other shew of proces, burnt aliue.

This last sentence was pronounced at *Ambrun* in the Cathedrall Church, in the yeere one thousand three hundred ninty three, to the great gaine and commodity of the Monkes the Inquisitors, who adiudged to themselves two parts of the goods of the said condemned, and the rest to the temporall commanders, with inhibition to their bordering neighbours, to assist them in any manner howsoever, to receiue them, visit, defend them, or to minister reliefe or sustenance to any of them, or to conuerse with them in any sort, or to doe them any fauour, or giue them any aide or counsell, vpon paine to be attained and conuined for a fauourer of Heretickes, they being declared vnworthy of all offices, and publicke charges and counsels; forbidding euery man to vse the seruice of any of them in matter of testimony, they themselves being iudged vn sufficient to make a will, or to succeed in any inheritance. And if any of them should bee iudges, that their sentences should be of no force, and no causes should be called before them. And if any of them be Aduocates, that their defences and pleas bee not receiued; if Notaries, that their instruments be of no effect, but cancelled and defaced; If Priests, that they be deprived of all offices and benefices, with inhibition to all Ecclesiasticall persons, to minister the Sacrament vnto them, to giue them sepulture, or to receiue from them any almes or oblations, vpon paine of deposition from charges, and deprivation of their Benefices.

This Monke reserued to himselfe, by the said sentence, the reuiue and examination of the proces of some dosen that he named therein; and they were those which he would willingly haue to passe by the

golden gate. For in the proces that are come to our hands, there are many that complaine, that they had neuer been entangled in the snares of the Inquisitors, but for their goods; beeing well knowne that they neuer had any knowledge of the Beleefe of *Waldenses*.

1400.

Vineux in
his Meuo^r.
fol. 6.

As touching the *Waldenses* of the valley of *Pragela*, they were assailed by their enemies vpon the side of *Susa* a towne in *Piedmont*, about the yeere a thousand foure hundred: and forasmuch as they had many times assaulted them in vaine, at such times as they could retire themselves into the high mountaines, and caues or hollow places thereof, from whence they might much indamage, and hinder those that came to assaile them, the said enemies set vpon them, about the Feast of the Natiuity of Christ, a time when these poore people neuer thought, that any would haue durst to haue past the mountaines being couered with snow, who seeing their caues and cauerns taken by their enemies, they betooke themselves to one of the highest mountaines of the *Alpes*, named after ward the *Albergam*, that is to say, the mountaine of retrait, and running together in troopes with their wiues and children, the mothers carrying their cradles, and leading their infants by the hand, that were able to goe, the enemy followed them vntill night, and slew many before they could recouer the mountaine. They that were then slaine had the better bargaine. For night comming vpon these poore people which were in the snow, without any meanes to make any fire to warme their little infants, the greatest part of them were benumbed with cold, & there were found in the morning fourescore small infants dead in their cradles, and most

80 infants
died in their
cradles and
most of them
in the snow

most of their mothers mothers died after them, and diuers others were giuing vp the last gaspe.

The enemies being retired in the night, into the houses of these poore people, they ransacked and pillaged whatsoever they could carry to *Susa*, and for the full accomplishment of their cruelty, they hanged vpon a tree a poore *Waldensian* woman, whom they met vpon the mountaine de *Meane*, named *Margaret Athode*.

The Inhabitants of the said Valley, hold this persecution to be the most violent, that their fathers haue related vnto them, that in their times or the times of their grand-fathers they haue euer suffred, and they talke of it at this present, as if it were a thing lately done, and fresh in memory; so often from the father to the sonne, hath mention been made of this vnexpected surpris, the cause of so many miseries amongst them.

Now in the meane while, the *Waldenses* of the valley *Fraßiniere*, that remained and had escaped this afore-said persecution, were againe violently handled by the Archbishop of *Ambrun* their neighbour in the yeere 1460, that is, in the time of Pope *Pius* the second of that name, and of *Lewis* the eleventh King of *France*.

This Arch-bishop named *John*, made a Commis-sioner against the said *Waldenses*, a certaine Monke of the order of the Frier-Minors, called *John Vayleti*, who proceeded with such diligence and violence, that there was hardly any person in the vallies of *Fraßiniere*, *Argentiere*, and *Loyse*, that could escape the hands of the said Inquisitor, but that they were apprehended either as Heretickes, or fauourers of them.

Cc 3

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As arranged
Bishop of
Ambrun
1460.

They therefore that knew nothing of the beleefe of the *Waldenses*, had recourse vnto King *Lewis* the eleuenth, humbly beseeching him, to stay by his authority the course of such persecutions. The King granted vnto them his letters, the which wee haue in this place thought good to insert at large, because by them it shall be easie to know what the will and desire of the said Monkes was, who intangled in their proces many of the Romish religion, vnder colour of the Inquisition against the *Waldenses*.

*The Letters of King Lewis
the eleuenth.*

Lewis by the grace of God, King of France, Dauphin de Viennois, Conte de Valentinois, and Dioys; to our well-beloued and faithfull Gouvernour of our Country of Dauphine, health and dilection.

TOnching that part of the Inhabitants of the valley Loyse, Frassinier, Argentièr, and others of our Country of Dauphine, it hath been certified, that notwithstanding they haue liued, and are desirous to liue as becommeth good Christian Catholikes, without holding, or beleeuing, or maintaining any superstitious points, but according to the ordinance and discipline of our mother the holy Church; yet

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neuerthelesse, some religious Mandians, who call themselves the Inquisitors of the faith, and others thinking by vexations and troubles, to extort from them their goods, and otherwise to molest them in their persons, haue been desirous, and still are, to lay false imputations vpon them, that they hold and beleue certaine Heresies and superstitions against the Catholike faith; and vnder this colour, haue and still doe vex and trouble them with strange inuolutions of proces, both in our Court of Parliament in Dauphine, and in diuers other Countries and iurisdctions.

And to come to the confiscation of the goods of those whom they charge with the same offence, many of the Iudges, yea, and the said Inquisitors of the faith themselves, being commonly religious Mandians, vnder the shadow of the office of Inquisitors, haue sent, and euery day do send forth proces against those poore people, without reasonable cause; putting some of them to the racke, and calling them in question without any precedent information, and condemning them for matters whereof they were neuer culpable, as hath bin afterwards found, and of some, to set them at liberty, haue taken, and exacted great summes of money, and by diuers meanes haue vniustly vexed and troubled them, to the great preiudice and hinderance, not

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onely of the said Suppliants, but of Vs and the Weale publicke, of our Country of Dauphine.

Wee therefore being willing to provide against this mischiefe, and not to suffer Our poor people to be vexed and troubled by such wrongfull proceedings, especially the Inhabitants of the said places affirming, that they haue alwaies liued, and will liue, as becommeth good Christians, and Catholikes, not hauing euer beleueed, nor held other beleefe, then that of our mother the holy Church, nor maintained, nor will maintaine, or beleue any thing to the contrary, and that it is against all reason, that any man should be condemned of the crime of Heresie, but onely they, that with obdurate obstinacy wil stubbornly maintain and affirme things contrary to the sincerity of our faith. Wee haue by great and mature deliberation, and to meeet with such fraudes and abuses, vniust vexations and exactions granted to the said Suppliants, and doe grant, and of our certain knowledge, and speciall consent, full power and authority royall, & Delphinale; Wee haue willed and ordained, and doe will and ordaine by these Presents, that the said Suppliants, and all others of our Country of Dauphine, be freed from their courts and proces, and whatsoeuer proces any of them shall haue sent forth, for the causes aboue mentioned; We haue of our certaine knowledge, full power

power and authority royall and Delphinale, abolished, and doe abolish, made, and doe make of none effect by these Presents, and we will that from all times past vnto this day, there be nothing demanded of them, or wrong offered, either in body or goods, or good name. Except neuertheles there bee any, that will obstinately and out of a hardned heare, maintaine and affirme any thing against the holy Catholike faith.

Moreover, we haue willed and ordained, and doe will and ordaine, that the goods of the said Inhabitants Suppliants, and all other of our Country of Dauphine, that for the causes aboue mentioned, haue been taken and exacted of any person, in any manner whatsoeuer, by execution or otherwise; shall by the ordinance or command of our Court of Parliament of Dauphine, or any other whatsoeuer, as also all bills and obligations, which they haue giuen for the causes aboue said, whether it be for the paiement of fees for the said proces or otherwise, shall againe bee restored vnto them, vnto which restitution all such shall be constrained, that haue in any thing, either by sale or spoile of their goods, moneables or vnmoneables, by detention or imprisonment of their persons any way wronged them, untill they haue restored their goods, and things aboue mentioned, and obeyed; otherwise to bee inforced by all due and resonable

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meanes requisite in such a case, notwithstanding all appellations whatsoener, which our will is in any manner be deferred.

And because that by reason of those confiscations, which haue been heretofore pretended, of the goods of those whom they haue charged and accused in this case, diuers more for conetounesse, and a desire of the said confiscations, or part of them, then for iustice, doe and haue put many people in sute, and to come to the end of their confiscations, haue held diuers tearmes against iustice. VVe haue declared, and doe declare by these Presents, that we will not from hence forward, for the said cause, haue any confiscations taken, leuied, or exacted, for vs, or by our Officers; and whatsoener right may come vnto vs, we doe acquit our selues off, and remit vnto the children or other inheritours thereof, against whomsoener shall pretend a right to those confiscations. As also to meet with those fraudes and abuses, offered by the said Inquisitors of the faith; we haue forbid, and doe forbid, that any man suffer any of the said Inquisitors of the faith, to proceed from hence forward against any of the said Inhabitants of our country of Dauphine, nor re-fraine any of them for the cause aboue mentioned, without expresse letters from our selfe touching that matter. Moreover we haue forbid, and doe forbid,

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for the cause aforesaid and the like, any of our Iudges and Officers of our Subiects to vndertake any iurisdiction or knowledge, but all causes and proces in the said case, to be sent vnto vs, and those of our grand Counsell to vs; to whom, and not vnto others, we haue reserued the hearing and determination. Wee therefore command and directly enioyne you, that our Letters be put in execution from point to point, according to the forme aboue said, and not other waies, as in such case is requisite. For it is our pleasure it should bee done; and to doe it we giue you full power and authority, and commission, and speciall commandement. We charge and command all our Iustices, Officers, Subiects, Commissioners, and Deputies, to giue their assistance for the due obedience thereunto.

1478.

Given at Arras the 18 of May, 1578.

The Arch-bishop of Ambrun ceaseth not to proceed against the accused, yea he was much more animated then before, grounding himself vpon that clause of the aforesaid Letters; If there bee not any found rebellious and refractary, and that obstinately harden themselves in their opinions. And therefore he pretended not to doe any thing against the aforesaid Letters, because they that had obtained them, made not their appearance in iudgement, for their iustification, verifying that they were neither obstinate nor rebellious. Moreover, the Arch-bishop extorted from the one

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part of the Inhabitants of *Frasiniere*, *Argentiere*, and the valley *Loyse*, a disclaiming of those requests presented to the King, declaring that there were no people in *Dauphine* lesse free from Heresie, then they that were most forward to purge themselves before the King: He caused information againe to be made, and that which we haue obserued in the said informatiōs is, that the witnesses produced by the Arch-bishop were almost all Priests or Officers of the said Arch-bishop, as namely *William Chabassal* Canon of *Ambrun*, *Francis Magnisi*, Priest of the valley *Loyse*, *Rostain Payan*, Curat of Saint *Marcelin*, *Anthony Garneri* Priest, *Aimar Raimond* Chaplin, *Michael Pierre*, Curat of *Frasiniere*, al which deposed, that all they that had recours vnto King *Lewis* the eleuenth were *Waldenses*. The Arch-bishop being thus strengthened, by their disclaime, and these witnesses, and the assertion of one *John Pelegrin*, who was corrupted with siluer, to accuse the *Waldenses* of such ancient calumnies, as long since haue been laid vpon the Christians of the Primatiue Church, that is, that they assembled themselves together in darke places, to commit whoredom, the candels being put out; he sent to the Court, to iustifie himself against those informations given to the King, that he pursued the *Waldenses*, rather to get their goods, then for any zeale hee bare to the Catholicke faith: but this onely witnes preuailed but little, against many other, who would neuer depose any thing against their cōscience, that they had euer seen amongst the *Waldenses*, any thing that had but the least appearance of that villany wherewith the aforesaid false witnes had charged them. Neuertheles the Arch-bishop ceaseth not to annoy the foresaid accused to the

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vitermost of his power, in such sort, that wanting meanes to defray the charge, the greatest part of them betooke themselves to flight, there being only amongst those that were persecuted, one *James Patineri*, who openly auerred the vniust vexation, to the preiudice of the Letters obtained of his maiesty, and demanded a copy of the proceeding, that hee might right himselfe by Law. The Arch-bishop leaues him in peace, pursuing those that wanted courage to oppose themselves against his violences. But the Consuls of *Frasiniere*, *Michael Ruffi*, and *John Girard*, sped not so well: For hauing been cited to appeare before the said Arch-bishop to answere both in their owne name, and of the inhabitants of their Valley; hauing answered that they had nothing to say before the said Arch-Bishop, because their cause was then depending before the King and his Counsell, which they then openly auerred, and demanded a Copy off: being pressed to answere, notwithstanding their protestations, and auerment to the contrary, *Michael Ruffi* answered in his owne language, and nodding his head, *Veici rages*, and vpon a new instance or importunity *veici vna bella raison*; the Arch-bishop being strangely moued against the said Consuls for this their contempt, sent them to the fire without any other Indictment. But the Arch-bishop staid not long after them; for he died, and not without an euident prooofe of the iustice of God, presently after the said execution. Thus ended the persecution of the said Arch-bishop, and his Commissioner *John Veileti* in the yeere one thousand foure hundred eighty seuen.

Now we may obserue one notorious villany in the proces framed by this Monke *Veileti*: For hauing

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the said proces in our hands, we found certaine bills or tickets, in which the said Commissary tooke the answeres of those that were accused, simply as they were taken from their mouthes; but wee haue afterwards found them strangely stretched and extended in the proces, and many times quite contrary to that which was in the *sumptum* as they call it, inuerting and altering the intention of the said accused, making him to say that which hee neuer thought of; as for example: Inquire whether hee beleueed, that after the words of the Sacrament were pronounced by the Priest in the Masse, the body of Christ was in the Hoste, in as grosse a manner and as great, as it was vpon the crosse; If the *Waldenses* shall answere no; *Veileti* sets downe the answere thus; *That hee had confessed, that he beleueed not in God*, or at least wise his Scribe, he dictating it. Againe, Inquire whether wee ought not to pray vnto Saints; If he answere no: they set it down, that he railed and spake ill of the Saints. Inquire whether we are to reuerence the Virgin *Mary*, and pray vnto her in our necessities; If hee answere no: They set it downe in writing, that he spake blasphemy against the virgin *Mary*. Behold here the fidelity of the said Monkes inquisitors, in an action so important, and it could not be without the great prouidence of God, that such impiety should be conserued and kept vnto this present time, that men might see with what spirit they were led, that cut the throats and burnt the faithfull of the Church, after they had oppressed them with impostures, demanding of vs neuertheles, where these faithfull of the Church were, which they haue massacred before these times wherein we liue.

And if the Reader desire to know, how such Proces,

ces, and Indictments are come to our hands; here hee may see againe, that it hath not been without the great prouidence of God, that they themselues that haue committed these cruelties and villanies, are they that haue kept the said papers and proces in their libraries, and places wherein their Records are laid; as namely the Arch-bishops themselues of *Ambrun*, *Iohn* and *Rostain* and others vntil the time that this City being recovered out of the hands of the Conspirators, in the yeere one thousand five hundred eighty five, and brought vnder the obedience of the King, by *Monsieur* the *Mareschal de l'esdignieres*; all the said proces and proceedings attempted, and intended for many hundred yeeres together, against the said *Waldenses*, were cast into the street, by reason that the Arch-bishops house was set on fire, by the enemies themselues, with an intent to defend a tower, called *Tour Brune*, whether they were retired, and to cut off a Gallery of wood, by which the Arch-bishop had passage to the said Towre. The Lord *de Calignon* of happy memory, and whilest he liued being Chancellor of *Nauarra*, being there; and the Lord of *Vulcon* at this present, Counsellor to the King in his Court of Parliament at *Grenoble*, they caused the said Indictments long since framed against the *Waldenses* to be gathered together, from whence we haue collected that which concerns the cruelties, and lewd cariage of the said Monkes Inquisitors, and their adherents, as also, that which hereafter followeth touching the *Waldenses* in *Dauphine*, and the persecutions of the Arch-bishops of *Turin* against the *Waldensian* Churches of *Pragela* by their Commissaries.

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1488.

Hitherto we haue not found that any haue hotly pursued the *Waldenses* by war; but *Albert de Capitanis*, Arch-deacon of *Cremona*, sent against them by *Innocent* the eight, in the yeere one thousand, foure hundred, eighty eight, began to intreat the assistance of the Kings Lieutenant in *Dauphine* called *Hugues de la Palm*, who for this seruice leuied troopes of men, and marched to those places, where the said *Albert* told him there were any of the *Waldenses*, namely in the valley of *Loyse*. And to the end the busines should seeme to be vnderaken according to a forme of iustice, and to giue the better authority to that which by them should be executed, the said Lieutenant of the King tooke in his company a Counseller of the Court, named *Mr. Iohn Rabot*. Being arriued at the said valley *Loyse*, they found none of the Inhabitants, to whom they might speake a word; for they had all retired themselves into their cauernes into the high mountaintaines, hauing carried thither with them their little children and whatsoeuer was most pretious vnto them, and fit for nourishment. This Lieutenant of the King caused a great quantity of wood to be laid at the entrance of their caues or cauernes, and fire to be put vnto it, in such manner that either the smoake by smothering them, or the fire by burning them, constrained a great number, to cast themselves headlong from their cauernes vpon the rockes below, where they ended their liues, being broken in peeces, and if there were any amongst them that durst to stirre, hee was presently slaine by the souldiers of the said Country of *Varax*, Lord of *Palm*. This persecution was very extream; For there were found within the said cauernes foure hundred small infants, stifled in their

their cradles, or in the armes of their dead mothers. It is held for a certaine truth amongst the *Waldenses* of the neighbouring Valleys, that there then died about three thousand persons, men and women of the said Valley. And to say the truth they were wholly extirpated, in such sort, that from that time forward, the said Valley was peopled with new Inhabitants, there was no family of the said *Waldenses* that euer tooke footing there; which is a certain prooffe that all the Inhabitants thereof of both sexes died at that time. This Lieutenant of the King, hauing destroyed the said Inhabitants of the Valley *Loyse*, fearing lest the *Waldenses* should settle themselves there againe, & to the end they might not one day be troubled againe to chase them out, he gaue the goods and possessions of the said Valley, to whom it pleased him, which was no sooner parted amongst them, but the *Waldenses* of *Pragela*, and *Frasiniere* had provided for their safety, attending the enemy at the passages, and narrow straites of their Valleys, in such manner, that when the said Lieutenant of the King came to inuade them, hee was constrained honestly to retire. *Albert de Capitanis* being called elsewhere by his Commission, surrogated a certaine Monke of the Order of Saint *Francis*, named *Francis Ploieri*, who began to informe anew against the *Waldenses* of *Frasiniere*, in the yeere one thousand foure hundred eighty nine. He citeth them to appeare before him at *Ambrun*, and for not appearing, he excommunicateth them, curseth and recurseth them, and in the end condemned them for Heretickes, pertinacious, and backsliders, to be deliuered to the secular power, and their goods confiscated. To this iudgement there gaue assistance, in behalfe of the Court of Parliament

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in *Dauphine*, a certaine Counceller thereof named *Ponce*, to the end that this mixt iudgement might be without appeale. The sentence was pronounced in the great Church at *Ambrun*, afterward fastned vpon the doore of the said Church in a great Table, in the lower part whereof, there were thirty two Articles of the beleefe of the said *Waldenses*, that is to say, against the Masse, Purgatory, the Inuocation of the Saints, Pilgrimage, the obseruation of Feasts, distinction of Viandes vpon certaine daies, and other matters that were affirmed by the said *Waldenses*.

But this Inquisitor added to the Articles of their beleefe, that they held, that for the augmentation of humane kind, a man might company with his owne sister, neece, or other in any degree of proximity whatsoeuer, because God hath said, Increase and multiply.

Againe, that euery man that burneth in lust, may carnally know any woman whatsoeuer, without sinning, because the Apostle saith, that it is better to marry then to burne, and because it is said in the Gospell (*qui potest capere capiat*) interpreting it thus, catch hee that catch can.

Now the informations vpon which they grounded their sentence being come to our hands, this imposture hath been dicouered to their owne condemnation: for there is not any witnes, or at leastwise the greatest part of those that were heard, but they were Priests or Monkes, who being demanded by the said Monke, whether they knew this beleefe contained in the aforesaid Articles to be true, answered, that they neuer knew, amongst the *Waldenses* any such things either taught or practised.

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In the same bundle or bag of proces against the *Waldenses*, there is there one framed against two Pastors, who were taken, about the hill in the side of the *Plaine*, the one named *Francis Gerondin*, the other *Peter James*, in the yeere one thousand foure hundred ninety two. Being demanded why the Sect of the *Waldenses* grew and increased so fast, and for a long time together had spred it selfe into so many places. This Monke thus sets downe the answer of the Pastor *Gerondin*, That the dissolute life of the Priests was the cause, and because the Cardinals were couetous, proud, luxurious, being a thing knowne vnto all, that there was neither Pope, Cardinall, nor Bishop, that kept not their whores, few or none that had not their youth for Sodomy: and therefore it was an easie matter for the *Waldensian* Pastors, to perswade the people, that the Religion of such scandalous persons was not good, since their fruits were so bad. And presently after, the said Pastor being demanded, what they taught touching Luxury: They make him to answer, that luxury is no sinne, except it be betwixt the mother and her childe. As if it had been possible that the Pastors could haue drawne the people from the Church of *Rome* by condemning the luxury of the Priests, if they themselues should teach, that luxury was no sin. Againe, being demanded why the incest of the childe with the mother was a sin, they make him to answer, because God hath forbidden it; And being asked, where hee hath forbidden it, they make him to say, that Christ Iesus said vnto *Iohn* before he ascended vp into heauen, *Garde to done ser ay failli vna volta non tornar piu*. That

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is to say, Take heed thou enter not into that place from whence thou once camest. And all this was thus set downe and subscribed, not onely by the dictat and appointment of the said Monke, but by the approbation and signature of the Councillor *Ponce*, and one *Oronce* Iudge of *Briancon*. Wherin appeares the priuat conspiracy, and vniust confederation of the said Inquisitors, in that they were not content to persecute them with violence, but to oppresse them with calumnies, making the said Pastors to answer so vnaptly & childishly touching those things wherein (as it shall appeare in it due place, that is to say, in their exposition vpon the sixt Commandement) the said Pastors were thoroughly exercised in the Scriptures, and therefore that it is a plaine imposture which they haue forged, and an idle tradition, in which exposition they leaue nothing to say against luxury and incontinency of all that is taught vs in the word of God.

This persecution was very extreame: for the *Waldenses* being condemned by the Inquisitor as Heretickes; *Ponce* the Counseller, and *Oronce* Iudges, sent them to the fire without appeale; and that which multiplied the number of those that were persecuted, was, that whosoeuer did any way mediat for them, whosoeuer hee were, whether it were the child for the father, or the father for the child, he was presently imprisoned, and his indictment framed, as a fauourer of Heretickes.

In the yeere one thousand foure hundred ninety foure, *Anthony Fabri* Doctor and Canon of *Ambrun*, and *Christopher de Salliens* Canon Vicar, and Officiall of the Bishop of *Valence*, had Commission from the Pope to commence suit against the *Waldenses*

denses in *Dauphine*, otherwise called *Chagnards*. *Fabri* the Inquisitor, and one *Gobandi* Notary of *Ambrun* and Secretary to the said Inquisitors carried to *Ambrun* a certaine indictment framed against *Peiropette* of *Beauregard* in *Valentinois*, the widdow of one *Peter Berand*, of whom we doe not make mention for her constancie, but because shee deliuered in her answers many things that may adde some things to this History.

Being therefore demanded whether shee had seen, or vnderstood of any of the Pastors of the *Waldenses*, shee answered at the first, that shee had not, being resolved to answer to all interrogatories negatively. The Inquisitors ordained, that because shee had not satisfied their demands, shee should bee conueied to the prison of the Bishop of *Valence*, who being threatened to be further vrged touching the question, confessed that about some twenty fve yeeres since, there were two men clothed in gray, that came to her husbands house, & that after supper, the one of them asked her, *N'avez vous iamais auui parl   d'un plen pung de mond, que si non era tot lo monde seria asfn.* That is to say, Whether shee had heard any speech of a handfull of people that are in the world, without which the world must haue an end. Hauing answered that shee neuer heard any speech therereof, but of one *Monsen Andre*, Parson of *Beauregard*, who often told her, that there was a small number of people in the world, without whom the world must perish; and that then he likewise told her, that he was now come thither, to confer with her about that little flocke, and to giue her to vnderstand, that they were the men, that had learnt by the Commandements of God, how to serue him, & that they travelled about the world to instruct men,

how they ought to adore and honour him, and to reforme the abuses of the Church of Rome. Againe, that among other things he told her, that we ought not to doe any thing to another, which wee would not haue done vnto our selues; That wee are to worship one onely God; Who is onely able to helpe vs, and not the Saints departed; That wee ought not to Swear; That we are to keep faith in marriage, and to keepe holy the Sabbath day, but that there was no necessity of obseruing other Feasts. That Ecclesiasticall persons were too rich, which was the cause why they maintained their strumpets, and liued scandalously; and that of the Pope hee said in his language; *Au tant crois & autant maluais es le Papa come nenqu'un autre, & per cò non ages de poisança.* That is to say, that the Pope is as bad, or rather worse then any other, and therefore he hath no power. Againe, that hee taught that there was no Purgatory, but only Paradise for the good, and hell for the wicked. And therefore all the singings and suffrages for the soules of of the dead, by the Priests, auaille nothing; nor the walkes, and goings and commings of the Priests about the Church-yards, singing *Kirieleyson*. As also, that it was better to giue to the poore, then to offer vnto Priests, and that it was a vaine thing to bow the knee before the images of Saints.

Shee was sent backe to prison, and the next morrow called againe; but persisting in her former speech, shee added, that the said Pastors had told her, that the Priests that receiued mony for the Masses they sing, were like *Indas* that sold his Master for siluer; and they that gaue mony for their Masses, were like the Iewes, that bought Christ with mony.

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These Inquisitors discharged this *Petronette*, vntill they were otherwise aduised, hauing first drawn from her, whatsoeuer shee knew, of the assemblies of the *Waldenses*, of such persons as frequented them, of the places and times, which afterwards brought great trouble to the said Churches of the *Waldenses*; and gaine and prey to the Inquisitors.

In the yeere of our Lord, one thousand foure hundred ninety seuen, the Arch-bishop of *Ambrun*, named *Rostain*, would know at his arriuall, how things had passed vntil then, against the *Waldenses* of his Diocess, and finding that they that dwelt in the valley of *Frasiniere*, had been excommunicated by the Inquisitors that had then framed their indictmets, & that they had deliuered them to the secular power, nothing hindring the execution of the sentences pronounced against them, but their flight, he would not enter into the said Valley, though he were earnestly requested, by one *Fazion Gay*, an inhabitant of the said Valley, saying, that they had been condemned *authoritate Pontificis Romani*, and therefore he might beginne his journey vnto them *inconsulto Pontifice*: but when our holy father *Iaxabit mihi manus* (saith he) and their absolution shall be plaine and apparent vnto me, I will go to visit them. *Fazion Gay* speaking in the behalfe of the said Inhabitants, that made profession to liue like good Catholikes (say they) answered, that the King had releas'd of such punishments, provided that they liued like good Catholikes for time to come.

The Arch-bishop replied, that hee would doe nothing vntill he had sent to the Pope, and that to that purpose he had deputed a Master in Theology, called *Frier Iohn Columbi*, and he would write to the Pope and

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and Cardinals, and send them a verball report of what had passed against them, and he would request their aduise, how to carry himselfe in this businesse. But he gaue them afterwards to vnderstand, that he could receiue no answer. Hereupon King *Charles* the eight of that name, King of *France*, being departed this life, the said Arch-bishop tooke his iourney to the Coronation of King *Lewis* the twelfth, in the yeer one thousand foure hundred ninety eight, which being come to the knowledge of the said Inhabitants of *Frasniere*, and knowing too well, that they had no reason to expect, that any thing in their fauour could come from *Rome*, and that the Arch-bishop would be easily intreated, to enioy those goods that had been confiscated by his predecessors, and that hee would be unwilling to make restitution of those goods which they had annexed to his Arch-bishopricke, they resolved with themselves to send to King *Lewis* the twelfth, and to become humble petitioners vnto him, that hee would be pleased, to take some order for the restitution of their goods, the which the said Arch-bishop, the Monkes Inquisitors, and diuers others detained from them. The King committed this busines, to his Chancellor and his Counsell: The Chancellor speaking therof to the Arch-bishop, he answered, that the restitution that they demanded, concerned not himselfe, because the said goods were confiscated by the Inquisitors long time before he was called to the Arch-bishopricke of *Ambrun*: but there were then at *Paris* (saith he) the President of *Grenoble*, and the Chancellor *Rabor*, that were able to answer to the said Article, they being the men that had condemned them.

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The *Waldenses* on the other side, were very earnest that the said Arch-bishop namely, and especially might be enioyned to make restitution of their goods, because many parcels of the said goods were annexed to the demaine of the said Arch-bishop, and that whensoever they demanded them, he sent to the Pope, to the preiudice of that, which the late deceased King had ordained.

The grand Counsell hauing taken knowledge of this businesse, ordained that nothing should be innouated, in that which concerned the *Waldenses* of *Frasniere*, the King hauing written to the Pope, that there might be Apostolicall Commissaries ioyned with the said Arch-bishop as Ordinary, to make an end of this busines for this time.

For the prosecution of the said ordinance, there were named for Apostolicall Commissioners, a certaine Confessor of the Kings, and the Official of *Orleans*, who came to *Ambrun*, in the yeere one thousand five hundred and one, and the fourth of July.

1501.

Here let the Reader iudge of the capacity of the said Arch-bishop, by those memorials that he hath left, and which wee haue heere written out word for word.

The Gentlemen, (saith he) the Confessor, and the Official of *Orleans*, being arriued at *Ambrun*, sent vnto mee a Post for the Packet to bring the Letter missiues of the King, to the which being receiued by me, I obeyed, and sent vnto them to intreat them, that they would be pleased to lodge with me as Monsieur the Confessor had promised to doe at *Lyon*, and presently I sent some of my people, to offer them a lodging, and sent them of my wine: to whom they answered

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red, that I should no more send any thing, to the end that they of *Frasiniere*, should not haue them in suspension, and that therefore they would not accept of my lodging. And after dinner I went to their lodging, accompanied with Monsiuer the Abbot of *Boscaudon*, some of my Canons, and other Officers, and to the said Commissioners I offered againe my house, doing them honour and reuerence, as to Apostolicall and Royall Commissioners, and for the honour of their charge and persons; Then the said Commissioners presented vnto me the said Apostolicall and Royall Commissions, requiring of me, as being ioyned in the said Commissions, and as ordinary, to take notice of it. The Commissions being viewed and read, I presently offered my self, with all honor and reuerence, to giue them all the aid and fauour I could possibly, and that for my part, there should nothing bee wanting, but that the said Commission should be fully accomplished, offering vnto them all the proces and indictments that I had, as they demanded them, notwithstanding a great part of the said proces were remaining in the great Counsell, from the time of that Monsieur the Chancellor *Adam Fumee* (who caused my predecessor and his Secretary to be arested) at *Lion* vntill the said *Adam Fumee* had the originall of the proces, which were about the charge of a moyle, not suffering the said Secretary to retaine any writing, as the said Secretary *medio iuramento*, in their presence deposed. Afterwards Monsieur the Confessor began to blame those Commissioners, which in former times had been employed therein. And did charge and admonish (*semel, bis, ter, sub pœna excommunicationis lata sententia, trina & Canonica monitione procedente*)

dente) that I should shew, and that incontinently, all the indictments that I had touching this matter, for he was to spend in this businesse but a few dayes, being to returne vnto the Court, at the Feast of our Lady in *August* to the King, who expected him, as his Confessor, notwithstanding, that before I had offered to deliuer him the said proces. But when I saw that he proceeded against all forme of Law, and that hee purposed to proceede against the dignity Episcopall, rather by suspensions then excommunications, and that I was a Iudge as well as he, and more then that, Ordinary, I asked the Copy of their Commissions, & *terminum ad respondendam*, according to the forme of the Law written. Then Monsieur the Confessor answered, that he had vsed the said Censures and Commands not long before against the Masters of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, and that therefore he might vse it against my selfe.

Replying also vnto me, You petty Clarke know nothing but two *C. C. Codice*, & *Capitulo*, and two *ff. Digestis*, and will take vpon you to suppress Diuinity, and that he heard the King speake it out of his owne mouth, that the Arch-bishop of *Ambrun* would oppose himselfe against his Commission, and bee an open accuser of the *Waldenses*. To whom I answered, that hee must pardon me, for I did not beleue but that the King had a better opinion of me, because in this matter I had neuer travelled but to a good end, as I alwaies intended to doe. Then Monsieur the Confessor continuing in his discourse, spake these words; *Vos ad me in modum Scribarum & Pharisaorum Christum accusantium ad Pilatum accessistis, cum tantis viris Ecclesiasticis ad terrendum me: sed nihil teneo sub*
Ff 2 vobis

vobis aut domino vestra, & de nihilo vos timeo. That is to say; You are come vnto mee as the Scribes and Pharisees, when they accused *Christ* before *Pilate*, and with so many Ecclesiasticall persons, to terrifie mee, but I hold nothing vnder you or your dominion, and I feare you not at all. To which I answered, that I brought no more with mee, then those that were accustomed to beare mee company walking through the Citty. And suddenly he commanded the lay-people to auoid the chamber, then reuoked the sentences which hee had thundred out against mee, against all forme of law, saying; that it was expedient to vse those rigorous tearmes in the presence of the lay-people, and especially there being some of the *Waldenses* present, as more at large touching the kind carriage of *Monfieur the Confessor*, and of matters aboue spoken of, it appeares by a publike instrument.

Thus you see part of the notes of the Arch-bishop *Rostain* set downe word by word, wherein we finde fundry fallhoods, as for example: He writ in great griefe, that the said Commissioners, heard not aboue three or foure witnesses, and we finde in the said bundle of writings for remembrance, of the Arch-bishop *Rostain*, a Coppy of informations wherein there were foure and twenty witnesses heard and examined.

Again he saith, that they asked no other question, but if they were good Catholikes or no, to which being well taught, they answered yea, and with that answere the Commissioners contented themselues: And yet it appeareth that they demanded diuers questions touching the Eucharist, Purgatory, Inuocation of Saints, and diuers other points.

Again he saith, that the witnesses were fearefull and

and durst not speake, and yet it plainly appeareth, that the witnesses produced, were for the most part Priests and Monkes, of the faction of the Arch-bishop, exhibited by him.

Again, that they suffered nothing to be set downe in writing; whereas it appeareth, that there are no Indictments where there is more written, then in those that were framed by the said Commissioners.

But that which troubled the Arch-bishop most, was that the said Commissioners gaue sentence of absolution touching Contumacy, *sine praiudicio cause principalis & iuris cuiusque acquisiti*; against which the Arch-bishop protested, and would not yeeld his consent to seale the said sentence, complaining that *Monfieur the Official of Orleans* had made knownen by his proceedings, that he fauoured the said *Waldenses*, especially hauing said openly at his lodging at the signe of the Angell in *Ambrun*, that he desired to be but as good a Christian, as the worst of *Frasiniere*.

But the greatest hurt came to himselfe, for he saw that hee must restore diuers viniards belonging to the said *Waldenses*, situated at *S. Clements*, *S. Crespin*, and at the place *Chanielonbe*, and diuers inheritances at *Chateau-Roux*, which his Predecessor named *Iohn*, had ioyned to the Demaine of his Arch-bishopricke.

The Confessor of the King hauing reported vnto him and to his Counsell, what he knew touching the *Waldenses*, and how they were absolued of their contumacy, did ordaine that the goods of the said *Waldenses* should be restored, whereupon these Letters following were granted by King *Lewis* the twelfth: that name.

Lewis by the grace of God, King of France, &c.

FOr as much as it is come to our knowledge, that the Inhabitants of *Frassinieres* haue endured great troubles and vexations, punishments, and trauels, We desiring to releue them, and that they should be restored to their goods, moueables, and immoueables, do by these Presents command all those that detain the said goods, that incontinently and without delay, they desist and renounce the said goods, and restore them to the said Suppliants, or their Attornies for them, euery one in his place and ranke. And in case of opposition, refusall or delay; Wee hauing regard to their puertry and misery, wherein they haue a long time, and now are detained, without power to obtaine iustice, desiring without all Our heart it should bee administred vnto them, Our will is to take notice thereof in Our owne proper person, warning all those that shall oppose themselves, or make delay, to appeare before Us at a certaine competent day, &c.

Given at *Lion* the twelfth of Oct. 1501.

These Letters being executed, it was the opinion of most men, that since the fairest and best part of the goods of the said *Waldenses* was possessed by the Lord Arch-bishop, that there was great reason, that hee should

should giue example vnto others; seeing especially, that that which they held, came vnto some of them as a fallary or fee for their punishments, and by the hands of the Arch-bishop *Iohn* his Predecessor.

The Arch-bishop *Rostain* answered, that he held none of the goods of the *Frassinieres*: onely certaine goods had been annexed to his Arch-bishopricke vpon good and iust cause, and incorporated to his Church, by his Predecessor, the said goods being within the territories and iurisdiction thereof, in which no commandement of the King hath euer been accustomed to be executed, and therefore it is not to bee beleueed, that it commeth from the will of the King, being Protector of the Churches, and following the example of his great predecessors: But yet neuerthelesse, the said Arch-bishop being willing to please our Lord the King, will bee content to yeeld vnto the said Inhabitants of *Frassinieres* the said vineyards, vpon condition that other the Lords and Masters of *Dauphine*, deliuer that which they haue of the said goods, and then the Arch-bishop will be content to restore that which hee and his Church doe possesse.

Thus these poore people were frustrated of their attempt. For there was not any one that would restore any thing of that which he detained. And therefore they summoned before the King and his counsell the said Arch-bishop, Master *Pons* Counsellor of the Parliament at *Grenoble*, *Peter de Rames*, Esquier, Lord of *Poit*, *Faix de Rames*, the Master of *Montainard*, and of *Argentiere*, *Arrouars de Bonne*, and diuers other ordinary Attornies, Priests and Burgeses of *Ambrun*, and *Briancon*. They sent to the Court, and hauing

having there more friends and credit, then the Inhabitants of *Frasiniere*. Their excuse was receiued, wherein they declared, that it was not in their power to restore the said goods, before the Pope had absolved them.

And the Arch-bishop protested, that hee for his part, was ready to restore all that his Predecessors had vinited to his Church, provided that they had the aforesaid absolution. This occasioned such as were lesse affected and constant, to assay this way, and to send to Pope *Alexander* the sixth of that name, then Bishop of *Rome*: But they were compelled rather not to goe to *Rome*, but to fetch a writ of absolution from the Cardinall Legat in *France*, *George* of the title of *Saint Xist*; which would suffice, and might be obtained with lesse charge. For the obtaining whereof they had the Commissary, the Kings Confessor. They sent therefore one *Steuen Roux*, who brought two Bulles, one by which he gaue absolution for Simony, theft, murder, viury, Adultery, dedention of Benefices, destruction of goods Ecclesiasticall, violence against Clerks, by beating them, vnlawfull oathes, periuries, Fraudes, yea Apostacy, and Heresie, and whosoeuer had committed any crime, were it neuer so hainous, this Cardinall absolved them from all, by his Apostolicall authority.

And forasmuch as his Arch-bishop might pretend, that the said Bull did not absolve the said people of *Frasiniere*, having been condemned by the said Apostolicall authority, by Commissioners and Inquisitors deputed by the Pope, and therefore his mouth was stopped; he brought another Bull, in which there was especially this clause; *Having power from*
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the Pope to decide or determine any matter, that any other, that hath been deputed by that holy See, or substituted can doe, yea where there hath been an appeale, absolving all that haue in any manner been condemned.

This poore man thought he had gotten much; and proceeded far in this busines; but the Arch-bishop *Rostain* flouted his Bulles, saying that they were obtained with too great a price and importunity, and that he must haue an absolution from the Pope himselfe. And so resolved with himselfe to restore nothing, and all the rest followed his example. And notwithstanding they had had absolution from the Pope, yet they would haue restored, nothing for he knew well enough that in those daies, all things were sold at *Rome*, witnessse those Latine verses which were writtten against the said *Alexander* the sixth.

Vendit Alexander cruces, altaria Christum,

Emerat ille prius, vendere iure potest.

Pope Alexander sold altars, Christ, and his crosse,

He bought them, had he not sold, had liued by the losse.

Againe,

Templa, Sacerdotes, Altaria, Sacra, Corona,

Ignis, Thura, Preces, Cælum est venale, Deusque.

Temples & Priests, Altars & Crowns, they sell for pelfe,

Fire, Frankincense, Prayers, heauen, and God himselfe.

which is to be vnderstood of their breaden god in the Masse.

The Arch-bishop therefore, was the cause, why others kept still those goods in their possession, without any restitution; and though some particular persons were afterwards called into question, as namely *Le Sieur de Mountainar*, *de Rames*, and others, yet they could neuer haue any remedy.

1560.

In the yeere one thousand five hundred sixty, the *Waldenses* of *Frasiniere* and *Pragela*, had their Churches furnished with Pastors, who held them in the exercise of their religion, at that time wherein they persecuted vnto death all those that made profession of reformation. The President *Truchon* made an Oration to the States of *Prouence* assembled the same yeere, the sixt of Nouember, of purpose to exterminate the said *Waldenses* of *Frasinieres* and *Pragela*, saying, that it was necessary to purge the old and ancient *Leuen*, likely to make soure the whole Country of *Dauphine*, if some course were not taken to preuent it. By these States it was re-resolved by open force to extirpate them, and by armes, and to this purpose Commissions were giuen forth to leuy troopes of men, and to passe into the said Valleys: but so soone as the drumme was strooken vp, and the men in armes throughout *Prouence*, the vnexpected death of King *Francis* the second of that name altered the designe, and afterwards the said *Waldensian* Churches in *Dauphine* continued, as still they doe by the singular fauour of God.



CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the *Waldensian* Churches in *Piedmont*, and those persecutions they endured, that are come to our knowledge.

THE *Waldenses* haue had famous Churches in the Valleys of *Piedmont*, *Angrongne*, *la Perouse*, the Valley Saint *Martin Lucerna*, and other bordering places for time out of minde. It is held for certaine amongst them, that they are a part of the *Waldenses* of *Dauphine*, *Pragela*, *Frasinieres*, and other places their neere neighbours, and that in time being multiplied in so great abundance, that the Country could not feed them, they were constrained to disperse themselves at length and at large, where they might best settle themselves. So deare like brothers, haue they been one to another, and notwithstanding they haue been alwaies oppressed with troubles, yet with a most hearty loue and charity, they haue euer succoured one another, not sparing their liues and goods for their mutuall conseruation.

The first troubles that the *Waldenses* of *Piedmont* endured, came from the report of certaine Priests, sent thither by the Arch-bishop of *Turin*, who informed that the people that were committed to their charge, liued not according to the manners and belife of the Church of *Rome*, neither offering for the dead, nor caring for Masses, or absolutions, nor to get any of theirs out of the paines of Purgatory by any of their

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Vignaux in
his memorials
fol. 7.

vsuall meanes. The Arch-bishops of *Turin* haue persecuted them, as much as lay in their power, making them odious to their Princes, who vnderstanding of the good report that their neighbours gaue of their milde & honest conuerſation, and that they were a ſimpe people, fearing God, of a good carriage, without deceit or malice, louing integrity and plaine dealing, alwaies ready to ſerue their Princes, and that very willingly they yeelded vnto them all dutifull obedience, and that with alacritie: Being in ſuch grace and fauour with the people their neighbours, that they endeauoured to bring into *Piedmont* to their ſeruiſe, their yong people, and to prouide their nurſes amongſt them to bring vp their yong infants; the ſaid Princes continued a long time in a purpoſe not to moleſt them: but the Priests and Monkes that were frequent amongſt them, gaining nothing by this their beleeſe, charged them with an infinite number of Calumnies, and whenſoeuer they went into *Piedmont* vpon occaſion of buſineſſe, they alwaies caught one or other, and deliuered him to the Inquiſitors, and the Inquiſitors to the executioner; In ſuch manner, that there was hardly any Towne or Citty in *Piedmont* in which one or other of them was not put to death. For *Iordan Tertian* was burnt at *Suſe*; *Hypolite Rouſſier* was burnt at *Turin*; *Villermin Ambroise* was hanged at *Meane*; as alſo *Anthony Hiun*, *Hugh Chiampe de Fenestrelles* being taken at *Suſe*, was conueied to *Turin*, where his bowels were torne out of his belly, and put into a baſon, and hee afterwards cruelly martyred: among which the ſeruants of God, there were ſome who haue maintained that truth, which they haue knowne for about two hundred and fifty

fifty yeeres, and others about a hundred and fifty. But amongſt all the reſt, the conſtancy of one *Caselin Girard* is worthy the remembrance, who being vpon the blocke whereon hee ſhould bee burnt at *Renel* in the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, he requested his executioners, to giue him a couple of ſtones into his hands, which they refuſed to doe, fearing he had a purpoſe to ſling them at ſome one or other; but hee proteſting the contrary, at laſt they deliuered them vnto him, who hauing them in his hands, ſaid vnto them; when I ſhall haue eaten theſe ſtones, then ſhall ye ſee an end of that religion for which you put me to death, and ſo caſt the ſtones vpon the ground.

Vignaux in his
memorials,
fol. 7.

The fires were kindled vntill the yeere one thouſand foure hundred eighty eight, at what time they reſolued to aſſault them by open force, becauſe, beſides that they perceiued that the conſtancy of thoſe whom they did publiſely put to death, drew a great number of others to the knowledge of God, they likewiſe found that by this meanes they ſhould neuer come to their purpoſed deſigne. And therefore they leuiued men to ioine with *Albert de Capitaneis*, one put in Commiſſion by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, and *Innocent* the eighth. There were eightene thouſand ſouldiers muſtered, beſides a great number of the Inhabitants of *Piedmont*, who ran to the pillage from all parts. They marched all at once to *Angrongne*, *Lucerne*, *la Perouſe*, *Saint Martin Praviglirm*, and *Biolet*, which is in the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, as alſo they raiſed troopes in *Vauchuſon* in *Dauphine*, overrunning the Valley of *Pragela*; to the end that being bound to their owne defence, they might not be able to fauour their neighbours, the *Waldenſian* Churches

1488.

in *Piedmont*. All this was guided by the singular providence of God, in that they diuided their troopes by bands, rather out of their pride then for their better expedition. For notwithstanding they were all employed in their owne defence, and could not succor one another, yet the enemy by this diuision did so diminish their forces, that they were euery where beaten, but especially in the Valley of *Angrongne*, where they made their most violent assault. For as this leuy of men could not be raised, without some aduertisement that it was against themselves, so accordingly they prepared themselves to receiue them, keeping themselves to the straight passages, where few men were able to make any assault, being armed with certaine long targets of wood, that did wholly couer them, and wherein the arrowes of their enemies strooke, without any hurt to themselves. The formost being thus armed and couered, the rest did good seruice, and with good aduantage, with their bowes and crosse-bowes vnder the couert of the said targets, and as the enemy thought to draw neere to the passages, the women and children being spectators, vpon their knees cried out in their owne language, *O Dio aiutaci*, &c. *O God helpeys*. Whereat the enemies making themselves merry, amongst other one Captaine *Saquer*, counterfeiting the said women, was flaine, and cast headlong from the mountaine into a deepe bottome, which to this day is called the *Gulfe of Saquer*. At the same time, a certaine Captaine named *le Noir de Montdeni*, cried out to the women that prayed vnto God, *i miei, i miei faranno la passade*, as much to say, as the souldiers cried out to them to put them to death, was killed with the shot of an arrow in the throat; which

which the souldiers perceiuing, and that the rockes, the stones and the arrowes couered them, they betooke themselves all to their heeles, and the greatest part of them, cast themselves downe from the rockes. This people obserued another effect of the prouidence of God, and that is, that the enemies approaching to the strongest place by nature, which is the Valley of *Angrongne*, called *le Pre de la Tour*, where they might haue fortified themselves, and made themselves masters of the said Valley, God sent so thicke a cloud, so darke a fogge, that the enemies could hardly see one another, insomuch that they had no leasure or meanes to know the goodnes of the place, or to stay there; whereupon the *Waldenses* gathering courage, followed the chase in such manner, that being all dispersed, and not seeing which way they went, the greatest part fell headlong downe the mountaines, and put themselves vnto flight, quitting themselves of their armes and their booties, which they had gotten at their entrance in the Valley, where they had powdered out their wine, their corne, and loaded their seruants with their most precious moucables. It pleased God to touch the heart of their Prince with some compassion of this poore people. It was *Philip* the seuenth of that name, Duke of *Sauoy*, and Prince of *Piedmont*, who said, that he would not haue that people, that had been alwaies true and most faithfull and obedient vnto him, to be rigorously handled by way of *Armes*; being contented that a dosen of the principall amongst them, should come to *Pignerol*, where hee was, to aske pardon for all the rest, for that they had taken armes in their defence, which he gaue them to vnderstand by a certaine Bishop whom he

he sent to *Prafsur*; they deputed the said dosen, to do whatsoeuer his Highnesse required of them; Hee receiued them louingly, and forgaue them all that was past during the warre, paying a certaine summe of money for the charges thereof. And forasmuch as he had been informed, that their young infants were borne with blacke throats, and that they had foure rowes of teeth, and hairy, hee commanded that some of them should be brought to him to *Pignerol*, which was presently executed, and seeing them all faire and perfect creatures, hee was much displeased with himselfe, for that he was so easily perswaded to beleeue, that which was reported vnto him touching this people, declaring withall, that his pleasure was, that from thence forward they should liue with the selfe same liberties and prerogatiues, as in former times, and as all his other subiects of *Piedmont* did. Notwithstanding all this, the Moneks the Inquisitors, sent out proces euery day, for as many of them as they could apprehend, especially they kept themselves in ambush in a certaine Conuent neer vnto *Pignerol*, from whence they deliuered them to the secular power. This persecution endured to the yeere, one thousand five hundred thirty two; at what time they resolved to order their Churches in such sort, that that exercise which was before performed in couert, might be knowne of euery one; and that their Pastors should preach the Gospell openly, that is to say, without any apprehension of persecutions that might happen vnto them.

His Highnesse was speedily advertised of this change, and much-moued therewith; in such sort, that hee commanded one *Pantaleon Berfor*, to speed him

himselfe into the said Valleys with his troopes of men, which hee so readily performed, that before the people were aware of it, hee was entred their Valleys with five hundred men, part on foot, and part on horsebacke, ransacking, pillaging, and wasting whatsoever was before them. The people leauing their plough and tillage, put themselues into their passages, and with their slings, charged their enemies with such multitudes of stones, and that with such violence, that they were constrained to flie, and to abandon their prey, many of them remaining dead vpon the ground. This newes came presently to his Highnesse, being likewise told him, that experience had taught them before, that it was not the way to reclaime and subdue these people by armes, the places of their habitation being so fauourable vnto them, they knowing better the straites and passages of the Country, then the assailants; and therefore there was nothing to be gotten, when the skin of one of the *waldenses* must be bought with the losse of the liues of a dosen of his other Subiects. Hee thought it therefore not good to molest them any more by armes; but onely that they should be taken by retails, one by one, as they came into *Piedmont*, and exemplary iustice executed vpon them, if they changed not their beliefe, that so by little and little they might be destroyed, to the astonishment of all others that dwell in the said Valleys, and so their ruine might be procured insensibly, and without the danger of any other the Princes Subiects.

All this hindred not, but that they still persisted in their resolution. And to end that all things might be done in order amongst them, they assembled themselves together, out of all their Valleys, to An-

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grongne, in the yeere one thousand five hundred thirty five, and the twelfth of September; that is to say, all the heads of euery families with their Pastors; where by of them it was certified, that their brethren the *Waldenses* of *Prouence* and *Dauphine*, had sent into *Germany* their Pastors, *George Morell*, and *Peter Masson* to confer with *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer*, and other the seruants of God, who there preached the Gospell, touching the beliefe which they haue had from the father to the sonne, time out of minde: that they had found that God had been very mercifull and gracious vnto vs, in that he hath preserved vs vndefiled in the midst of so many Idolatries and superstitions, which haue infected all Christendome in the ages past, vnder the tyranny of *Antichrist* of *Rome*. They haue encouraged vs by holy aduertisements and reasons giuen, and exhorted vs not to bury those talents which God hath imparted vnto vs: finding it an euill thing, that we haue so long delayed the time to make publike profession of adhearing to the Gospell, and causing it to be preached in the eares, and to the knowledge of euery one, leauing the euents vnto God, of whatsoever it shall please him shall fall vpon vs, by procuring his glory, and the aduancement of the Kingdome of his Sonne. And afterwards hauing read the letters of the said *Oecolampadius* and *Bucer*, which were sent vnto them, as to their Brethren the *Waldenses* of *Prouence* and *Dauphine*, the Propositions or Articles following, were ordered, reade, and approved, signed and sworne to by all the assistants, with one minde and consent, to conserue, obserue, beleue, and retaine amongst them inuolably, without any contradiction, as being conformable to the doctrine,

This admonition or remonstration given by *Oecolamp.* and *Bucer* to *George Morell* and *Pet. Masson* is in the Memor. of the said *Mozel* fol. 5.

ctrine, which hath been taught them from the father to the sonne for these many hundred yeeres, and taken out of the word of God.

ARTICLE I. That Diuine Service cannot be done, but in spirit and in truth; For God is a spirit, and whosoever will pray vnto him, must pray in spirit.

II. All that haue been, or shall be saued, haue been chosen of God before all worlds.

III. They that are saued, cannot but be saued.

IV. Whosoever holdeth free-Will, denieth wholly the Predestination and the grace of God.

V. No worke is called good, but that which is commanded by God; and no worke is euill, but that which is forbidden by God.

VI. A Christian may sweare by the name of God, not any way contradicting that which is written in the fift Chapter by Saint *Matthew*, provided, that hee that sweareth, take not the name of the Lord in vaine. Now that man sweareth not in vaine, whose oath redoundeth to the glory of God, and the good of his neighbour. Also, a man may sweare in judgement, because he that beares the office of a Magistrate, be he Christian or infidell, hath the power of God.

VII. Auricular Confession is not commanded of God, and it is concluded according to the holy Scriptures, that the true confession of a Christian consisteth in confessing himselfe to one onely God, to whom belongs honour and glory. There is another kinde of confession, which is, when as a man reconcileth himselfe vnto his neighbour, whereof mention is made in the fift of Saint *Matthew*. The third man-

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ner of Confession is, when as man hath sinned publicly, an all men take notice of it, so he confesse and acknowledge the fault publicly.

VIII. We must cease vpon the Lords day, from all our labours, as being zealous of the honor and glory of God: for the better exercise of our charity towards our neighbours, and our better attendance to the hearing of the word of God.

IX. It is not lawfull for a Christian to reuenge himselfe vpon his enemy, in any manner whatsoever.

X. A Christian may exercise the office of a Magistrate ouer Christians.

XI. There is no certaine time determined for the fast of a Christian, and it doth appeare in the word of God, that the Lord hath commanded, or appointed certaine daies.

XII. Marriage is not forbidden any man, of what quality or condition soeuer he be.

XIII. Whosoever forbiddeth marriage, teacheth a diabolicall doctrine.

XIII. He that hath not the gift of continency, is bound to marry.

XV. The ministers of the word of God, ought not to be changed from place to place, except it be for the great benefit of the Church.

XVI. It is not a thing repugnant to the Apostolicall communion, that the ministers should possesse any thing in particular, to prouide for the maintenance of their families.

XVII. Touching the matter of the Sacraments, it hath been concluded by the holy Scriptures, that we haue but two Sacramental signes, the which Christ Iesus

Iesus hath left vnto vs; the one is *Baptisme*, the other the Eucharist, which wee receiue to shew what our perseuerance in the faith is, as wee haue promised when we were baptized, being little infants: As also in remembrance of that great benefit, which Iesus Christ hath done vnto vs, when hee died for our redemption, washing vs with his most pretious blood.

These Articles being resolued vpon by them, astonished the Priests that were amongst them to gather vp the reuenues of their Cures, being out of all hope to see those people reclaimed, and brought vnto the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, by any force, much lesse of their owne accord; and perceiuing the dore to be shut against their gaine, they retired themselves without speaking a word. Vpon this their retreat, the Masse vanished of it selfe in the Valleys of the said *Waldenses*; And because they had onely the new Testament, and some bookes of the old, translated into the *Waldensian* tongue, they resolued speedily to send to the presse the whole Bible, their bookes being onely manuscripts, and those but a few.

They sent therefore to *Newcastle in Switzerland*, where they gaue fifteene hundred crownes of gold to a Printer, who brought to light the first impression of the French Bible which was seen in *France*: and incontinently in the yeere one thousand five hundred thirty six, they sent to *Genena*, one *Martin Gonin*, to prouide a large supply of such bookes which he should see to bee fit for the instruction of the people: but they were frustrated of their intent, because this good man was apprehended for a Spy, passing ouer the hill de *Gap* by a certaine Gentleman named *George Martin*,

Hh 3

Lord

Swisse.
See the Ecclesiasticall History of the Churches of France, pag. 37
1536.

In the booke
of Martyrs of
our time, lib. 3
fol. 111.

Lord de *Champion*, and so soone as hee was knowne to be a *Waldensian*, he was sent to *Grenoble*, and there kept in prison, and afterwards in the night-time cast into the Riuer *Lyzerre*, for feare lest hee should speake of his beliefe before the people: for the Monke Inquisitor, that deliuered him to the secular power, told them, that it was not good that the world should hare him, because (saith hee) it is to bee feared, that they that heare him, may become worse then himselfe.

There happened warres in *Piedmont*, betweene King *Francis* the first of that name, and the Prince of *Piedmont*, which fell out happily for these poore people, for so long as those confusions continued, they were at quiet, vntill Pope *Paul* the third of that name, solicited the Parliament of *Turin* to take some violent course against them, in doing iustice vpon them, as vpon pernicious Heretickes, whensoever they should bee deliuered into their hands by the Inquisitors. This Parliament caused a great number to be burnt at *Turin*, in imitation of other Parliaments in *France*, who burnt in those times, those they called *Lutherans*.

They had recourse vnto the King, presenting vnto him their petition, that they might not be persecuted by the said Parliament for the profession of that Religion, in the which they and their ancestors had liued for many hundred yeeres, and that by the permission of their Princes. But they made it worse with them then it was before; for the King enioyned them to liue, according to the laws of the Church of *Rome*, vpon paine to bee chastised as Heretickes. He likewise commanded the Court of Parliament at

Turin

Turin, to cause all his Subiects within their iurisdiction, to profess his religion; Adding withall, that he did not burne the *Lutherans* throughout his whole Kingdome of *France*, to make a reservation of them among the *Alpes*.

The Parliament endeouored speedily to put the commandement of the King in execution, and for that cause enioyned them vpon paine of their liues, to quit themselves presently of their Ministers, and to receiue Priests to sing Masse, liuing after the manner of other the Kings subiects. They answered, that they could not obey any such commands against the commandement of God, whom in what belongs vnto his seruice, they would rather obey then men. But had not the King at that time had other employments elsewhere, without all doubt this Parliament would haue made them doe that by force, which they would not be brought vnto by simple commands. They therefore contented themselves to prosecute them by the Inquisition, and to receiue from the Monkes, those they condemned to the fire. But afterwards in the yeere 1555, they increased the persecution. For hauing condemned to the fire, one *Barthelmew Helior* a Stationer, who was executed at *Turin*, because hee died with admirable constancy, insomuch that hee edified the assistants and standers by, in such manner, that he drew teares from their eyes; and words of compassion from their mouthes, iustifying him with a mutuall applause, which they gaue of his good speeches and prayers vnto God. The Parliament tooke occasion hereupon, to do their best endeauor to overthrow this profession in the very source, and to vse the au-

thority

1555.

In the Booke
of the martyrs
of our time.
lib. 8. fol. 122.

thority of the King, to enforce this people to liue vnder the lawes of the Church of *Rome*, or miserably to perish. To this end and purpose, the Parliament of *Turin* deputed a certaine President of Saint *Julian*, and a Collaterall named *de Ecclesia*, to transport themselves vnto those places, and there to put in practice whatsoeuer they thought good, either to reduce or to exterminate the said people, with promise to assist them, with whatsoeuer shall be needfull to this purpose, according to the aduise and counsell they should receiue from them.

This President with his Collaterall, tooke their journey to *Perouse*, and caused Proclamations publicly to be made in the name of the King, that euery one of the Inhabitants was to goe to Masse, vpon paine of his life. Afterwards, they came to *Pignerol*, where they cited many to appeare before them. Amongst others, there appeared a poore simple labouring man, whom the President commanded to cause his child to be re-baptized, which had lately been baptized by the minister of Saint *John* neere *Angrongne*. This poore man requested so much respite, as that he might pray vnto God before hee answered him. Which being granted with some laughter, he fell downe vpon his knees in the presence of all that were there, and his prayer being ended, he said to the President, that hee would cause his childe to be re-baptized, vpon condition, that the said President would discharge him by a bill signed with his owne hand, of the sinne which he should commit in causing it to be re-baptized, and beare one day before God the punishment and condemnation which should befall him, taking this iniquity

quity vpon him and his. Which the President vnderstanding, hee commanded him out of his presence, not pressing him any farther.

Now hauing framed diuers indictments against some particular persons of the said Valleys, and made some collections of whatsoeuer the President could imagine might hurt the people, hee assayed also to winne them by the preachings of the Monkes, whom he brought with him into the Valley of *Angrongne*. Being therefore come vnto the place where their Temple was, he caused one of his Monkes to preach in the presence of the people, who made vnto them a long exhortation to returne vnto the Chnrch of *Rome*, of which hee reported many things which the people beleueed not. After that the Monke had said as much as he would, and that he held his peace, the greatest number of the people required, that the Pastors that were there present, or some one of them for all, might be permitted, louingly and mildly to answer to the discourse that had been made by the Preacher, but the President by no meanes would giue way thereunto, whereupon there followed a certaine rumour or muttering among the people, which strooke the President and his Monkes with an astonishment, in such sort, that they could haue been content to haue been elsewhere: but dissembling their feare, the President retired himselfe, without a word speaking, to *Turin*, whether being come, hee related to the Parliament what hee had done, and withall signified vnto them the difficulties that were, to winne this people by extremities, because if any attempt should bee made to take them by violence, they were resolu'd to defend themselves, and the

places of their abode being fauourable vnto them, it was to bee feared, it would cost a great deale of labour, and much blood would bee shed, before they could either bee brought into the Church of *Rome*, or out of the world. That is was the worke of a King to roote them out, and a King of *Franc*; and therefore it was necessary to send the reports, and to commit vnto his owne will and pleasure, the issue of so troublesome an enterprife. This aduice was followed, the indictments and reports were sent to the King, but as the affaires of the Court cannot be finished but with long time, there passed a whole yeere, before there was any other course spoken of, or taken against them, then that of the Inquisitors, who alwaies deliuered some one or other to the secular power; but the yeere being expired, there came from the Court expresse commands of the King to make them to doe that by force, which they would not be brought vnto by words, or friendly vsage. The Parliament re-sent the said President of *Saint Iulien*, who so soone as hee was arriued at *Angrongne*, he commanded them in the name of the King to goe to the Masse, vpon paine of Confiscation of bodies and goods. They demanded a Copy both of his commission and his speech, promising to answere him in such a manner, that he should haue reason to rest contented: but nothing could giue the President satisfaction, who still pressed vpon them to change their religion, but in vaine. For they answered him, that they were not bound to such commands, against the commandement of God. Hee commanded that twelue of the pricipall amongst them, with all the Ministers and Schoole-masters should

should presently yeeld their bodies to the prisons of *Turin*, there to receiue such sentence as reason shall require, and hee enioyned the *Sindics* of the said Valleys to dismisse and suffer to depart presently all strangers, and from thence forward not to receiue any Preachers or Schoole-masters, but such as shall be sent them by the Diocesan. They answered, that they could not nor would not obey any such commands as were against God, and that they would not make their appearance at *Turin*, because they could not doe it without danger of their liues, and to be molested for their beleefe.

This Parliament of *Turin* was in such sort incensed against them, that as many as they could cause to be apprehended in *Piedmont*, and the frontiers of the Valleys, so many they burnt at *Turin*; among others *M. Jeffrey Varnigle* Minister at *Angrongne* was burnt in the yeere one thousand five hundred fifty seuen, by whose death at *Turin* in the place of the Castle, the people were much strengthened and edified, there being present a great number, that saw him to persist in the inuocation of the name of God vnto his last gaspe.

During these grieuous persecutions, the Protestant Princes of *Germany* did intercede for them, beseeching King *Henry* the second, to suffer them to liue in peace, in the profession of that Religion wherein they had liued from the father to the sonne for some ages past. The King promised to haue regard to this their request, and indeed they continued quiet, vntill the peace was made betweene the King of *France* and of *Spaine*, and that the Duke of *Sauoy* was

restored to his estates, that is to say, in the yeere one thousand siue hundred fifty nine.

1560.

The yeere after the said restitution of the Country, the Popes Nuntio reprobued the Duke of *Sauoy*, for that he followed not the steps of the Kings of *France* in his zeale, who affecting the Catholike *Romish* religion, had with all his power persecuted the *Waldenses* and *Lutherans* of the Valleys of *Angrongne*, and other their bordering neighbours; and that if he did not ioyne his forces in what possibly hee could to bring them into the bosome of the Church, or to take them out of world, that his Holinesse should haue great reason to suspect him to bee a fauourer of them. The Prince of *Piedmont* promised to vse all the meanes he could, for their reduction or vtter subuersion, in pursuit whereof, hee commanded them to goe to the Masse, vpon paine of their liues, and to see their Valleys laid open to fire and sword. To which command they not yeelding obedience, he set vpon them by open force, and gaue the charge of this warre, to a gentleman named *le sieur de la Trinite*; And in the meane while at the selfesame time he caused them to be pursued by the Monkes the Inquisitors, *Iacomel*, and *de Corbis*.

But forasmuch as the History of this warre, is brought to light elswhere, we will not enter into any large discourse thereof, onely we may here obserue, that after *la Trinite* had been well beaten with his troopes, seeing that the Lions pawe could stand him in no steed, he couered himselfe with the Foxes skin, telling them that what had passed, had befallen them for want of parley and communication, rather then

This war is printed in a treatise by it selfe. And it is likewise set downe in the 8. booke of the history the Martyrs of our times. fol. 532.

then for any ill will that his Highnesse bare vnto them; and that if his souldiers had exceeded their bounds, it was because of that resistance which they found, and that hereafter hee would bee an instrument for their conseruation, and as desirous to procure their peace, as at the beginning he shewed himselfe earnest to procure their trouble. And therefore he counselled them to send certaine of the principall amongst them to his Highnesse, by whom he would send his commendatory letters, both to the Prince, and Madame *Margaret* Duchesse of *Sauoy*, and only sister to *Henry* King of *France*, and that he did assure himselfe that his Highnesse would blot out the remembrance of all that was past: But yet he thought it necessary, that aboue all things they should giue some testimony of obedience to their Prince; who in other places was enforced by the Pope to establish the Masse in all his territories, and therefore they should permit that the Masse might be song in *Angrongne*, which was but a thing indifferent vnto them, since he did not require their presence at it, but onely that hee might write vnto his Highnesse, that they were his good and obedient Subiects. And moreover, to the end, that his Highnesse might not still persist in his opinion, that any strange minister did make his abode within his Prouinces, that it was in their power to intreat them, to retire themselues vnto *Pragela* for some few daies, and that afterwards when his Highnesse should be pacified towards them, they might call them home againe. It cost him a great deale of labour to gaine thus much of them; for if we intreat our Pastors to retire themselues (say they) it will be a counsell of the flesh, and God will not blesse it; for our enemies

enemies when they shall haue gotten this aduantage of vs, and that we haue no man left to comfort vs, to counsell vs, to reprove, to exhort vs, they will endeavour no doubt to the vtmost of their power, euer to shut the gates against the returne of our good Pastors, by whose ministry, we haue been so worthily instructed, and fortified against a world of temptations. And therefore to the end we may not be accused as Rebels for recalling them home againe, it shall bee better for vs not to deprive our selues at all of the fruit of their ministry, and from hence forward to be reputed for such in seruing of God, as preserue those whom he hath sent to preach his word vnto vs. He is as powerfull to preserue vs, as he hath been heretofore in times past, and vngratefull wretches wee are to doubt of his assistance, and not to thinke that we so miserable a flocke, the dogges being chased away, shall not bee deuoured by the wolues. Those and diuers the like were the speeches and motions of those that were most cleere sighted, and more zealous then the rest, but yet this could not hinder others from intreating their Pastors to retire themselves for some few daies to *Pragela*, a Valley neer vnto theirs, & peopled with their brethren the *Waldenses* of *Dauphine*. Here a man might perceiue the heavy iustice of God pon them, and the beginning of misery, euery one to melt into teares, the rockes resounding and calamities, with cryes and lamentations, when euen women and infants, conducted their Pastors to the high mountaines, to passe ouer to the other part of them. And from other parts, when they saw the principall amongst them, to take their journey to *Turin*, to the midst of their enemies, many presaged the euill that

that would ouertake them, and it seemed vnto them that God had forsaken them, at that time when they had forsaken him in the person of his seruants. It came to passe euen as it had been foretold, by those that could not allow of those counsels of the flesh. For being arrived at *Turin*, they were presently lockt vp in strong prisons, their indictments framed as against Heretickes, the passages garded to hinder any that might giue aduertisement of the vsage and intertainment they receiued, that were deputed to this seruice. And in the meane time, *la Trinite* told them, that he knew that his Highnesse had agreed to all that they demanded, and that he had written vnto him, that he detained them for no other cause, but to assure him of their promises for time to come, to which purpose he likewise raised a Fort which he built neere to *Angrongne*. Which made them to thinke hardly of their affaires, in that they could heare no newes of their poore prisoners, and much lesse would *la Trinite* suffer them to send any thither. In the end, hauing a long time consulted with themselves what they should doe, seeing a Fort built which might curb and bridle them for euer, if they should suffer it to be brought to perfection, and on the other side, fearing if they should enterprise any thing against those that laboured therein, that it should cost them their liues that they sent to *Turin*, they were in great and extreme perplexities, not knowing what course to take, for they found, that they had been mocked by that *Prater de la Trinite*, and therefore it stood them vpon to commit the euent to the prouidence of God, and to reconcile themselves to him by prayer and fasting, which when they had done, they called home their

their Pastors, implored the assistance of their neighbours of *Pragela*, who came vnto them with their armes, entred into the Temples, wherein *la Trinite* had caused them to build Altars, and to place images, and ouerthrew the Altars, and laid them leuell with the ground, rased vp the foundations themselves, brake downe the images, besieged the Fort and tooke it, killed as many as made resistance, beate the succours that were sent to the said Fort, put them to flight and slew a great number of them. The Prince *Emanuel Philibert* being much offended herewith, would haue reuenged himselfe vpon those that hee kept in prison; but Madame *Margarite* interceeding for them, pacified the Prince, shewing that it was necessary for them to consult with themselves touching that vsage and intertainment, his Highnesse had giuen to those that were deputed, and that seeing themselves in the way to a totall destruction, they had raken this oblique meanes to relieue and to helpe themselves. His Highnesse therefore by the aduise and instigation of the Popes Nuntio, had enforced the said deputies to goe to the Masse, and there to aske pardon of God, the Pope, and their holy mother the Church of *Rome*, with promise to liue according to the Lawes thereof; and afterwards sent them to prison, attending the perfection of his Fort. But seeing himselfe frustrated of his expectation, he followed the course proposed by Madame *Margarit*, vnder which they haue liued vnto this present, which agreement we doe not here insert, because it is elsewhere set downe in their History. True it is, that afterwards they suffered at sundry times, sundry persecutions, which they bare patiently, and with much zeale.

Among

1576.

Among the rest, that in the yeere 1570, was very extream. For their Prince being entred into an offensive league against the Protestants, with many other Princes of Europe, he began to trouble and to vex his said Subiects of the Valleys of the *Waldenses*: First by forbidding them to haue any commerce with the *Waldenses of Dauphine*, vpon paine of their liues; and secondly to assemble themselves in any Synod or Consultation, but in the presence of the Gouvernour of *Castrocaro*; for the fulfilling whereof, he failed not to be present at the first Synode, which they called at *Bobé*. The Pastors and Ancients that were there, signified to the said Gouvernour, that his assistance in their Synods was no way displeasing vnto them, because the matters that were to be handled, were such, as if the whole world were a witnes vnto them, the more should their piety towards their God appeare, and fidelity to wards their Prince, being to deliberate of nothing, but what might tend to the glory of God, and their obedience to their superiours: And that forasmuch as his Highnesse tooke occasion to distrust them, it must needs be the false information of some of their enemies, and therefore assuring themselves in their owne consciences, that they had neuer deserued it, they could not but take this nouelty for a manifest breach of the treatie and agreement he had made with them, and and a persecution shaking the free exercise of their religion. They intreated therefore the Gouvernour of *Castrocaro*, to retire himselfe, and not to molest them by any such innouation, and swarming from the former treaties, at leastwise vntill that they hauing iustified themselves before his Highnesse, it might be otherwise ordered and prouided by him. The Gouvernour stands still resoluéd to stay there. The Pastors and

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Ancients declare against the said the nouelty ; The Gouvernour also for his part protesteth, not to enterprise any thing herein, but by the expresse commandement of his Highnesse, and that they should be better content, that he had that charge then any other, because he was willing to doe them any good might lye in his hower, made a good interpretation of all their actions, and would not faile to make a true report vnto his Highnesse of the fidelity he perceived to be in their cariage.

He was therefore admitted into their Synode, at the end whereof, he vsed this subtilty, that is, he attempted to sow enuy and ieaiousie amongst the Pastors, giuing good words in generall, that hee had found their order faire and good, and that he neuer had believed, that they had proceeded with such zeale, order, and charity ; but yet there was no reason hee should wonder that his Highnesse had been ieaalous and distrustfull of strange Ministers, because he knew very well, that they were more violent in their opinions, then the home-bred of the Country, at leastwise the greatest part ; for he made exception of M^r. *Steuens Noell*, whom he knew (saith he) to be a peaceable man, and more affectionated to the contentment of his Highnesse ; and therefore that since his Highnesse had resolved not to permit any stranger to inhabit within his Lands, hee could not belieue, that Ministers were more exempted then other men, and therefore to the end he might not be constrained to vse his power and authority, to enforce them to withdraw themselves out of those Countries, that they should doe well, if of their owne accordes, they departed somewhether else, which would be far better

and more honourable for them, then that they should stay, till the Prince should enforce their departure out of his Countries by banishment. They answered, that they could not belieue, that his Highnesse had any such meaning, as the Gouvernour would seeme to perswade them. But that they might bee the better informed of the truth thereof, they would depute some amongst them to go to his Highnesse.

The Gouvernour being much moued, that they would giue no credit to his words, nor doe any thing by his perswasions, suffered the souldiers of *Castrocaro*, to compasse the temple, at what time the Preacher was in the Pulpit, and to doe diners insolencies, shooting off their gunnes, and astonishing those who were disarmed, and thought themselves surprised. Master *Steuens Noel* was intreated to write to Madame *Margarite*, which he did : but the Letters by which Madame assured them, that the Gouvernour had commandement from his Highnesse to keepe himselfe within the limits of the treaty passed betwixt his Highnesse and the people, remained still in the hands of the said Gouvernour, and in the meane time, whilest these things were afoote, the Massacre executed in *France* in the yeere 1572 happened, which in such a manner puffed vp the pride, and increased the courage of the said Gouvernour, that there was no meanes to stay his violences ; For the bone-fires of ioy being made throughout all *Piedmont*, because of this effusion of bloud, this Gouvernour perswaded himselfe, that he should shortly see the like persecution in the said Valleys, and therefore the people hearing the Cannons that were shot off, and the great contentment that his Highnesse tooke, they perswaded themselves

1572.

selues that they should not long continue in peace, and therefore they thought their surest course was, to conuey those goods that were most precious vnto them, vnto the toppe of the Alpes, into the hollow caues whereof, they had been accustomed to retire themselves in troublesome times. His Highnesse being aduertised, that his people were resolved, and ready to defend themselves, thought it not wisdom to hazard the liues of his other subiects, to bring them into obedience, and so contented himselfe, that hee had made them to feare; giuing command in the meane time, that whensoever vpon any occasion they came into *Piedmont*, they should bee apprehended and executed as Heretickes; whereof the people being aduertised, they sought such commodities as were fit to maintaine life in *Dauphine*, in the Valleys of their brethren of *Pragela* and *Valclufon*.
 (Afterwards his Highnesse and Madame *Margaritha* being departed this life, *Charles Emanuel* their sonne and Prince of *Piedmont* hath maintained them in peace, vnder the treaty made with their said Highnesse, his father and mother. Notwithstanding the which, the Inquisitors haue been alwaies watchfull to apprehend one or other, especially to hinder them from speaking of their beliefe, when they came downe into *Piedmont*. For in such a case, (prouided that it appeare, that they haue held any discourse) they haue alwaies condemned them for teaching strange doctrines, and swaruing from the agreement, whereby it is enioyned, that they broach no new opinions.

The last that hath been persecuted for this cause, was a certaine merchant of *Lucerna*, whose History we

we will here insert, because by his constancy he did much edifie the people; & that it may appeare vnto the world, that the Popes cease not to shew how odious vnto them, the doctrine of the Gospell is, and that if it were in their power to rule the hearts of the Kings and Princes of Europe at their pleasure, the fires at this present should still be burning in all those places where they haue any power or authority.

It was in the yeere 1601, that *Barthelmew Copin* a *Waldensian* of the Valley of *Lucerna*, was at *Ast* in *Piedmont* with his merchandize, at a Faire that should be the next morrow, and being at table in the euening at supper, with diuers other Merchants, there was one that began a discourse of the diuersities of Religions, and spake many things tending to the dishonour of the *Waldenses* of the Valleys of *Angrongne*, and their bordering neighbours. *Copin* hearing him to speake of his brethren lesse modestly then became those that professed themselves to bee Merchants, and of their Religion, to the dishonour of God, hee thought it would be a fault in himselfe, if he should make no reply to those blasphemies that he heard: He therefore answered the party that held this discourse, in fauour of his Religion; And what (saith he that had been reprehended by *Copin*) are you a *Waldensian*? He answered, Yea. And doe you not belieue, that God is in the Hoste? No, saith *Copin*. Fie vpon you, replies the other, what a false Religion is yours? My Religion (saith *Copin*) is as true, as it is true that God is God, and as I am sure I shall die. The next morrow *Copin* was called before the Bishop of *Ast*, who told him that he had been aduertised of certaine scandalous discourses and opinions, which but the day before hee held

1601.

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held in the euening at his lodging, and that hee must acknowledge the offence, if he would obtaine pardon, otherwise he would take order for his punishment. *Copin* answered, that he had been prouoked thereunto, and howsoeuer, he had said nothing, that he would not maintaine with the danger of his owne life; that hee had some goods in the world, and a wife and children; but he had lost the affection he bare vnto those things, neither were they deare vnto him, to the preiudice of his conscience: And as touching his behaiour (saith he) if it would please the Bishop to enquire of the Merchants of *Asi*, who all knew him, whether he were an honest man, they would all witness for him, that he had neuer wronged any man, in that whole time he had traded and conuersed with them, and that being a Merchant, he was to be dismissed for that cause, for which he was then in that place, that is, for trafficke, and therefore not to bee molested. That if Iewes and Turkes were permitted to come to *Faires*, and to trafficke throughout all *Piedmont*, much more should he be permitted who was a Christian, especially, since that in that discourse of Religion he did but answer to a question moued vnto him, and that it was lawfull for any man to answer, and to giue a reason of his faith, to whom and in what place soeuer, euen by vertue of that treaty and agreement betweene the *Waldenses* of the *Valleys* and his Highnesse, which forbids them to broach new opinions, but takes not from them the liberty to answer, to whomsoeuer shall aske any questions of them.

The Bishop harkened not at all to these allegations, but gaue commandement, that he should bee sent to prison. The morrow after, the Bishops Secretary came

came to visit *Copin*, and making great profession of loue towards him, he said vnto him, that hee would haue him know as from his friend, that if he did not acknowledge his fault, he would be in great danger of his life.

Copin answered him, that his life was in the hands of God, and he would neuer desire to preserve it to the preiudice of his glory, and forasmuch as he had but two or three paces to walke in his iourney to heauen, his hearty prayer vnto God was, that he would be pleased to giue him the grace, not to turne back. Some few daies after, he was examined by a Monke Inquisitor, in the presence of the Bishop, who tormented him a long time with sweet and gentle perswasions, endeavouring to winne him by faire words, to the abjuration of his beliefe: but *Copin* alwaies conuined him by the word of God, alleadging vnto him, that if he should be ashamed of Christ Iesus, or deny him before men, Christ would be ashamed of him, and deny him before his Father in heauen. The Monke ended his disputation with these and the like threatening speeches; Goe thou waies thou cursed Lutheran, to all the diuels in hell; and when thou shalt be tormented by those vncleane spirits, thou wilt remember those good and holy counsels, which we haue giuen thee, to bring thee to saluation; but thou haddest rather go to hell, then to reconcile thy self to our holy mother the Church. It is long agoe, (saith *Copin*) that I was reconciled to our mother the Church.

After many violent incounters, they caused his wife and a sonne of his to come vnto him, promising him liberty, and to depart with them if hee would amend his fault by confessing it. They suffered his

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said wife and sonne to sup with him in prison, which time he spent in exhorting them to patience, the wife for that shee should want a husband, the childe a father, but yet should assure themselves, that God would be their father, and more then a husband, and for his owne part he was not bound to loue either wife or children more then Christ, & that they should hold it to be no small happinesse, that it hath pleased God to do him that honour, as to be a witness vnto his truth, with the losse of his life, and that he hoped that God would be so fauourable vnto him, as to giue him strength to endure all manner of torments for his glory. He committed to the care and charge of his wife, his sonne and his daughter which they had in marriage, enioyning her to bring them vp in the feare of God. He comanaded his sonne to obey his mother, for so he should drawe downe vpon him the blessing of God, he prayed them to pray for him, that God would be pleased to strengthen him against all temptations, and so having blessed his sonne, and taken leaue of his wife, they were dismissed out of prison, and he locked vp where he was before. His wife and child shedding fountaines of teares, and crying out in such a lamentable manner, as would haue moued the hardest hearts to compassion. This good man not being content with what he had said vnto them by word of mouth, writ vnto her this Lettre following, the originall Copy whereof shee deliuered vnto vs, written and signed with the hand of the said Copin, the superscription whereof was this:

To

To my louing Companion, Susan
Copin. At the Tower of Lucerna.

Most deare Companion, I haue receiued much comfort by your comming into this place, and so much the more, by how much the lesse I expected it: And I thinke it was some comfort to your selfe, that you had the meanes to sup with me, as it came to passe but yesterday being the fiftenth of September, in the yeere 1601, being Saterday. I know not the cause why this was permitted, but all things are in the hand of God, and whatsoeuer were the cause, I doe not thinke we shall euer eate together againe. And therefore pray vnto God to be your comforter, and put your trust in him, who hath promised neuer to forsake those that trust in him. You are wise, and therefore gouerne our house in such sort, that you keepe our children Samuell and Martha in obedience, whom I command, by that authority that God hath giuen me, to be faithfull and obedient vnto you, for then God will blesse them. For the rest, be not griued concerning my selfe, for if God haue appointed, that I am come to the end of my daies, and that it pleaseth the Almighty God, that I shall render up my soule, which hee

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bath long time lent me, my trust in him is, that out of his abundant mercy, hee will receiue it into beauen, for the loue of his Sonne Christ Iesus, by whom I beleue, that our sinnes are blotted out, euen by his precious death and passion; And I begge at his mercifull hands, that he will accompany mee vnto the end, by the powerfull assistance of his holy Spirit. Bee alwaies carefull to pray vnto God, and to serue him, for so God will blesse and serue you. Take no care to send me any thing for these three weekes, and then you may send me, if you please, some money to pay the Taylor, and some thing else to succour me, if I liue till then. Remember also that which I haue often told you, that is, that God prolonged the life of King Ezechias for fiftene yeeres; but that he had prolonged mine a great deale more, for it is a long time agoe, that you haue seen me in a manner dead, and neuerthelesse I am yet alio, and I hope and hold for certaine, that hee will still preserue mee alio, untill my death shall be better for his glory and mine owne felicity, through his grace and mercy towards me.

From the Prison at As, Sept. 16. 1601.

The Bishop of As was much troubled, what to determine concerning this poore man: For if he should let him goe, they feared a scandall, and that many

many would gather heart and courage, to speake with a loud voice against the Romish Religion. On the other side, there was a clause in the treaty made betwene his Highnesse and the Waldenses, which cleared him from all offence, in these words. *And if any question shall be mooued vnto them, touching their faith, being in Piedmont with other his Highnesse's Subjects, it shall be lawfull for them to answere, not incurring thereby any punishment reall or personall.* Now he was asked the question, and therefore to be quit from blame: But the Bishop would not haue it said, that hee had committed him to prison vniustly. To the end therefore, that his death might not bee imputed vnto him, and it might not be thought, that he sent him away absolued, he sent his indictment to Pope Clement the eight, to vnderstand what course hee should take herein. It could neuer be knowne what answere the Bishop had; but shortly after hee was found dead in prison, not without some appearance, that he was strangled, for feare least if he should haue been publicly executed, he might edifie and strengthen the people by his confession and constancy. After his death he was condemned to be burnt, and so being brought out of prison, his sentence was read in the same place, and cast into the fire. And this was the last of the Waldenses, that is come to our knowledge, that hath been persecuted to the death for his belife.

Waldenses were deprived of the free exercise of their Religion within the iurisdiction of the said Marquis. **CHAP. 4.** of the Waldenses. **CHAP. 4.** of the Waldenses. **CHAP. 4.** of the Waldenses.

CHAP. V.

Of the Waldenses inhabiting in the Valleys of Meane and Maties, and the Marquisate of Saluces, and the last persecutions that they suffered.

AT what time the *Waldenses* of *Dauphine* dispersed themselves in *Piedmont*, there were some that made their abode in the Marquisate of *Saluces*, in the Valleys *Maties* and *Meane*, and the parts thereabouts. These were not forborne during the grievous persecutions which their brethren of the Valleys of *Angrongne*, *Saint Martin*, and others suffered. All their refuge was to flie into the said Valleys, namely when the said *Gouvernours* of the said Marquisate persecuted them by the commandement of the Kings of *France*, who condemned to death, within their Realms all such as made profession of the same believe that they did. Now the deceased King of Happy memory *Henry* the Great and fourth of that name, having given to his Subjects an edict of pacification, the *Waldenses* that lived in the Marquisate, enjoyed the same priviledges, that the other Subjects did of the same Realme; but when afterwards by the treaty with the Duke of *Sauoy*, *la Bresse* was changed for the Marquisate of *Saluces*, the poore *Waldenses* were deprived of the free exercises of their Religion, within the iurisdiction of the said Marquisate, for at the instance of the Nuntio of Pope Clement the eight, the free liberty of their Religion was

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not onely interdicted; but by a new edict all they were banished, that within the said Marquisate, made profession of any other Religion, then that of the Church of *Rome*: and for the better furtherance of their speedy departure, there were sent to the said Valleys and Marquisate, a great number of Monkes Inquisitors, who went from house to house; examining the consciences of every one, by which means there were aboute five hundred families banished, who retired themselves into the Realme of *France*, but especially into *Dauphine*. And to the end, that in those places into which they were come, it might not be cast in their teeth, that they were banished out of their Countries, for some wickednesse that they had committed, but that it was onely the zeale they bare to their religion, that had made them wanderers in the world, they made this Declaration following, in the yeere 1603.

1603.

The Declaration of the *Waldenses* of the Valleys *Maties* and *Meane*, and the Marquisate of *Saluces*, made in the yeere 1603.

FOrasmuch as time out of minde, and from the father vnto the sonne, our Predecessors haue been instructed and nourished in the doctrine and Religion whereoffrom our infancy we haue made open profession, and haue instructed our families, as we haue learnt of our fore-fathers; As also that during

ring the time, that the King of France held the Marquisate of Saluces, it was lawfull for vs to make profession, not being disquieted or molested, as our brethren of the Valleys of Lucerna, la Perouse and others; who by an expresse treaty and agreement, made with our Soueraign Prince & Lord, haue inioyned vnto this present, the free exercise of the reformed religion; but his Highnesse being perswaded by euill counsell, and ill affected people, rather then his owne will, hath resolved to molest vs, and to that end hath published an edict: To the end therefore that it may be made known to all men, that it is not for any crime committed, either against the person of our Prince, or for any rebellion against his edicts, or the committing of any murders or theft, that wee are thus tormented, and spoiled of our goods and houses; Wee declare, that being certainly assured and perswaded, that the doctrine and Religion taught and followed in the reformed Churches, as well of France, Switserland, Germany, Geneua, England, Scotland, Denmarke, Suedia, Polonia, as other Realmes, Countries, and Signories; whereof we haue vnto this present time, made open profession, vnder the obedience of our Princes and Soueraigne Lords, is the onely true doctrine, and Christian religion, ordained and approued of God, which onely can make vs agreeable

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vnto him, and conduct vs to saluation: Wee are resolved to follow it, with the losse of our liues, goods and honours, and to continue therein the remainder of our liues. And if any shall pretend that we are in an error, we require him to make vs see our error, and offer incontinently to abiure, and do likewise promise, to follow that which shall be proued vnto vs to be the better, desiring nothing so much, as with an assured and safe conscience, to follow the true and lawfull seruice, which we poore creatures owe vnto our Creator, and by that meanes to attaine to the true and eternall felicity. But if any shall goe about, by force and constraint to cause vs to forsake, and abandon the true way of our saluation, and to enforce vs to follow the errors and superstitions, and false doctrines inuented by men, wee desire a great deale rather to abandon our houses, our goods, and liues too. We therefore humbly beseech his Highnesse, whom we acknowledge to bee our lawfull Prince and Lord, not to suffer vs to be molested without cause, but rather permit vs to continue so long as wee liue, and our children and posterity after vs, in that obedience and seruice, which vnto this day wee haue rendred vnto him, as faithfull and loyall Subiects; and so much the rather, because we demand no other thing of him, but that we yeelding faithfully vnto him, that which we

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we are bound vnto by the expresse commandement of God, it may likewise bee lawfull for vs, to render vnto God, that homage and seruice, which wee owe vnto him, and he requires at our hands in his holy word.

Beseeching in the meane time (in the middle of our exile and calamity) the Reformed Churches to bold vs, and acknowledge vs, to bee true members therereof, being willing to seale with our blood (if God will haue it so) the Confession of faith made and published by them; which we acknowledge in all things, and throughout, conformable to the doctrine, taught and written by the holy Apostles, and therefore truly Apostolicall. Wee promise to liue and die therein. And if so doing, we be afflicted and persecuted, we yeeld hearty thanks vnto God, who hath done vs that honour to suffer for his name; leauing the issue of our affaires, and the iustice of our cause, in the hands of his diuine providence, who will deliuer vs, when and by what meanes it pleaseth him. Humbly beseeching him, that as he hath the hearts of Kings and Princes in his hands, he will be pleased to mollifie the heart of his Highnesse, to take pittie of those, that haue neuer offended him, or purpose to offend him, to the end hee may hold and acknowledge those to be more faithfull, loyall, and obedient to his seruice, then they are that

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prouoke him to such persecutions. In the the meane time that hee would bee pleased to support vs in the middest of these temptations, and strengthen vs with Patience and Constancy, to perseuere in the profession of the truth vnto the end of our lines, and our posterity after vs, Amen.

This persecution hath cotinued vnto this present time, at the instance of Pope *Paul* the fift, and his Nuntio, who still troubleth and vexeth this poore people, by his Monkes the Inquisitors. They haue made some to alter their opinions, who had no power to quit themselues of their goods, but haue accommodated themselues to the world: but the greatest number persisted constant in calling on the name of God, chusing rather to be banished here on earth, from their natiue countries, then to be depriued of eternall life, hating their Possessions, their Country, their Houses, being the places where they could not inhabit, without the deniall of Christ and his truth.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Waldenses inhabiting in the New Lands, and the persecutions which they haue suffered.



He New Lands of which wee are here to speake, are in the Alpes, in the Frontiers of Piedmont, Dauphine, and Prouence, of which the cheefe Citty is *Barcelona* or *Barcelonette*. Within the said Lands, there are certaine

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Villages, which haue been peopled by the *Waldenses* time out of minde, placed in the best part of the said Lands amongst others *Iosiers*. These places haue continued a long time, the Princes of *Piedmont* nothing regarding the abode of the said peoples within their Prouinces: but the Priests made them odious to the world, because they were vnprofitable vnto them, by not liuing after the manner of other people, who contributed vnto them for the liuing and for the dead, in such sort, that when his Highnesse persecuted in his state, those that had quit themselues of the Lawes of the Romish Church, these were not forgotten, especially when the *Gouernours* of the said Valley opposed themselues against them. These were therefore of the number of those, that were summoned in the yeere 1576, to goe to the Masse, or to forsake his Highnesse Country; wherein they found not better meanes to helpe themselues, then to ioyne themselues vnto others, who being threatned with the same banishment, had recourse to the Protestant Princes, beseeching them to intercede for them to their Prince, that he would be pleased, not to trouble them in such manner for their beliefe, which they had made profession off, from the father to the sonne, for many hundred yeeres; during which time, their Princes haue not had any Subiects, that haue yeelded vnto them more faithfull obedience then they, not giuing place vnto any other in their duties, submissi- ons, and contributions, which they haue alwaies most willingly payed to their Princes, as they were still ready to continue, yeelding obedience to their commands, onely that that they might not be trou- bled in their consciences.

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The Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine* delegated to the Prince of *Piedmont* a Counsellor of his State, with cer- taine other honorable personages. Being arrived at *Tu- rin*, they saluted his Highnesse in the name of the said Prince *Palatine*, and deliuered their Letters of Cre- dence. He was heard by the Prince *Emanuel Philib- ert*, very peaceably. This Councellor gaue him to vnderstand, that the onely charity of their Master towards Christians of the same Religion that he pro- fessed, had moued him to mediate for them, that his Highnesse would bee pleased to suffer them to liue peaceably in the exercise of their Religion, not offer- ing any violence to their consciences: That he would account this benefit as done vnto himselfe, and hee should oblige vnto him all the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, who likewise made the selfesame request by their mouthes. That he should haue God the more fauourable; and his Subiects the more faithfull, if he did not shew himselfe inexorable; That the confu- sions that haue happened in all the States of Kings and Princes, that haue indeauoured to raigne and reclaim the soules of their Subiects by armes, and to reduce them by violence, may make wise all other Princes, which were not yet come to such extremities; That forasmuch as they that haue not vsed rigorous courses, haue won the hearts of their people to be more faith- full vnto them, this meanes being in his power, they humbly beseeched him to imitate herein the most de- bonaire and gentle Princes.

It appeared by his Highnesse answere, that he took but little pleasure in this intercession, but much more by the effects that followed. For hee answered, that notwithstanding that for his part he made no enquiry

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how the Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and other Princes of *Germany*, governed their Subjects, and being a Soueraigne Prince, he was not to yeeld an account vnto any, of his courses and resolutions, yet neuerthelesse he thanked the said Prince, and all the rest that were thus charitable towards him, his Estate, and his Subjects, as to wish their content and peace: but that the miseries and calamities that haue happened amongst them, by the diuersity of Religions, had made him to desire to haue in his State but onely one, and that must be that which he there found, and in which he had been alwaies brought vp, for feare lest vnder the mantle of Religion, and liberty of conscience, he must dispute with his subjects as a companion, of those things which by iust title were in his power to determine as a Master; as it had happened to other Princes in Europe, that in this case had no power to rule their Subjects as Soueragines. And that in might appeare vnto them, that he loued peace, he had maintained his Subjects the *Waldenses* dwelling in his State in the Valleys of the Alpes, vnder an edict which he caused to be obserued yniolably. That if without the said Valleys he had in his State any itching busie spirits affecting nouelties, those he caused to be punished as Rebelles. That he thought, that as the said Princes had compassion of his Subjects, that they might enioy the exercise of their Religion, so he assured himselfe, that they would not take it in ill part, (so iust and iudicious they were) if he provided for his surety, and preservation of his State, by punishing the seditions, that he would inquire, in consideration of this their intercession, more narrowly into the estate of his Subjects, making profession of their Religion,

ligion, and would giue them some refreshing.

And because they had spoken particularly of a certaine Minister named *Giles*, whom he detained locked vp in a dungeon, he caused him to be brought forth and placed in a chamber, and after inquiry made of what he was accused, that is, that he had writ to those of *Geneua* to the preiudice of his seruice, he set him at liberty. He disclaimed a certaine captaine of a Castle of the Valley *Meane*, for some thing he had done against the *Waldenses* of the said Valley, but for the rest, the Counsellor was hardly gone halfe his way home-ward, but the persecution grew greater then it was before. Amongst others, the Gouvernour of the New lands in the end of Nouember following, proclaimed with the sound of a trumpet, that whosoever would not within the space of a Moneth goe to Masse, were to auoide the Lands and Territories of his Highnesse within that time, vpon paine of confiscation of body and goods. These poore people of the New lands, they could conuey themselves to no place without danger of their liues. For in *Prouence* they burnt those whom the Parliament of *Aix* called *Lutherans*. In the Territories of *Honorat* Earle of *Tendes*, they were deliuered into the hands of the Executioners. *Gonsague* Duke of *Neuers*, commanding for the King of *France*, in the Marquisate of *Saluces*, put them to death. In *Dauphine*, as many as the Archbishop of *Ambrun* could apprehend, so many he caused either to rot in the dungeons, or to perish in the Tower *Brun*, with cold and famine; and out of *Piedmont* they were banished. There remained no other succour but in the dead time of winter, to make their passage by night ouer a high mountaine almost

inaccessible, couered with ice and snow, into the Valley of *Frasiniere*, if possibly they could. They therefore betooke themselves vnto the mountaine, about the feast of the Natiuity of our Lord, in the coldest time of all the yeere: But before they could come to the height thereof, the greatest part of the women and children were benumbed with cold, and the night ouertaking them, being in the top of the hill, they were inforced to lie vpon the ice, where a great part of them in the morning were found dead. They that escaped the danger, retired themselves into the Valley of *Frasiniere*. Now after that the houses of these poore people had remained for a time void of Inhabitants, there was no man that would seise or take possession of their Lands, much lesse till and husband them, and therefore their Gouvernours permitted the said *Waldenses* to continue there, and to tolerate them, making profession of their beliefs; onely they were to depart out of the confines of the State of the Prince, for the exercise of their Religion. They haue re-peopled the said Valley. Thus you haue heard as much as is come to our knowledge, touching their sufferings, howsoever they haue been persecuted from time to time, from the father to the sonne, as the rest of the *Waldenses* in *Dauphine* and *Piedmont*, but their indictments are not come to our hands.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Waldenses dwelling in Calabria, and the persecutions which they haue suffered.



About the yeere of our Lord 1370, the *Waldenses* of the Valleys of *Pragela* and *Dauphine*, grew to so great a number in so small a Country, that they were enforced to send away a certaine number of their yonger people to seeke some other Country to inhabite in. In their trauaile they found in *Calabria* certaine waste and vtilld land, and ill peopled, but yet very fertile, as they might well iudge, by those parts neere adioyning. They therefore finding the Country fit to bring forth corne, wine, oyle of Oliues and chestnuts, and that there were hilles fit for the breeding and nourishing of cattle, and to furnish them with fuell and timber fit for building, they came vnto the Lords of those places to treat with them touching their abode in those Countries. The said Lords receiued them louingly, agreed to their lawes and orders, to the great aduantage of these new Inhabitants, came to an agreement with them, touching their Rentes, Tenthes, Toles, penalties, in case there fall out any differences or offences amongst them; and so hauing assigned vnto them certaine quarters or parts of the Country, they returned for the most part of them, to aduertise their parents of the good aduventure, that had happened vnto them, in a rich country, likely to abound in all temporall benedictions. They brought

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brought backe with them from their parents and friends, whatsoeuer it pleased them to bestow vpon them; to begin their house-keeping; many of them married, and brought their wiues into *Calabria*, where they built certaine small Townes and Citties, to which their owne houses were as walles, as namely *Saint Xist*, *la Garde*, *la Vicaricio*, *les Rouffes*, *Argentine*, *Saint Vincens*, and *Montolieu*. The Lords of the said Countries thought themselves happy, in that they had met with so good Subiects, as had peopled their Lands, and made them to abound with all manner of fruits; but principally because they found them to be honest men, and of a good conscience, yeelding vnto them all those duties and honours, that they could expect from the best Subiects in the world. Onely their Parsons and Priests complained, that they liued not touching matter of religion, as other people did, they made none of their children Priests, nor Nunnes, they loued no chaunting, rapers, lampes, belles, no nor Masses for their dead. They had built certaine Temples, not adorning them with images, they went not on pilgrimage: they caused their children to be instructed by certaine strange and vknown School-masters, to who they yeeld a great deale more honour then to them, paying nothing vnto them but their tithes, according to the agreement with their Lords: They doubted, that the said people made profession of some particular beliefe, which hindred them from mingling themselves, & ioyning in alliance with the naturall home-borne people of the Land, and that they had no good opinion of the Church of *Rome*. The Lords of those places began to feare, that if the Pope should take notice, that so neere his Seate, there were

were a kinde of people that contemned the lawes of *Romish* Church, they might chance to lose them, detained their Priests from complaining of these people, who in euery thing else shewed themselves to be honest men, such as had enriched the whole Country, yea and the Priests themselves, for the onely tithes which they receiued of that great abundance of fruites, which arise from those lands, out of which in former times they receiued no profit at all, were such as might very well giue them reason to beare with other matters. That they were come to inhabit in those places from far Countries, where perhaps the people were not so much giuen to the ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*; but yet since in the principall they were faithfull and honest, charitable towards the poore, and such as feared God, they were very willing they might not be molested, by any more particular enquiry into their consciences. These reasons wrought much with those that bare them ill will. For the Lords of those places, stopped the mouthes of their murmuring neighbours, who could by no meanes draw them into any alliance with them, and who saw their goods, their cattell, and all that they possessed blest after a more particular manner then other mens, that they were a temperate people, wise, not lewd or dissolute, not giuen to dancing, or haunters of Tavernes, and out of whose mouthes, there did neuer proceed any blasphemy; and to be briefe, liuing in a Country where the Inhabitants were giuen to all manner of wickednesse; they were as precious stones in a common sinke, and therefore both enuied and admired, but yet alwaies maintainted by their Lords, whose comparing these subiects and vassals with others

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that they had, could not satiate themselves with their praises. Thus were they maintained by their Lords against all enuy, and that mangre the Priests, vntill the yeere 1560, at what time they could no longer defend them against the Popes thunderbolt.

The occasion was because they then vnderstood, that in their Valleys of *Pragela* and *Piedmont*, there were Pastors, that with a loud voyce did preach the Gospell: For they had sent to *Genewa* to be furnished with teachers, and they sent them two, that is to say, *Steven Negrin*, and *Lewis Paschal*, who at their arrivall, did their best endeavours to establish the exercise of their Religion. Pope *Pius* the fourth of that name, being aduertised hereof, the Colledge of Cardinals was assembled, and presently concluded and resolved vpon the utter ruine and exirpation of this people, who so neere the Popes Seate, durst to plant the Religion of the *Lutherans*.

The charge of this persecution was given to Cardinall *Alexandrin*, a violent man, if there were euer any amongst the Cardinals. Hee chose two Monkes of his owne humour, to be his Informers, that is to say, one *Nalerio Malicino*, and a Dominican Monke, named *Alphonsus Arbin*, who began with the Inhabitants of *Saint Xist*. Being in the place they assembled the people, giuing them good speeches, and protesting that their comming thither, was not any way to molest them, but onely louingly to aduertise them, that they were not to heare any other Doctours and teachers, then those which should be giuen vnto them by the Prelats of their Diocese. That they knew well, that they had receiued teachers from *Genewa*, but by quitting themselves of them, and

and liuing hereafter according to the lawes of the Church of *Rome*, they should haue no cause to feare any thing, but if they presumed to keepe their said teachers amongst them, they did put themselves in danger to loose their liues, their goods and honours, because they were to be condemned for Heretikes. And that they might the better know who they were, that had wholly forsaken the lawes of the Church of *Rome*, they caused a bell to be rung to Masse, inuiring the people to goe thither; but in steed of going to the Masse, they quit themselves of their houses, and with their wiues and children that could follow them, they did flie into the woods, leauing onely within the Citty some few decrepit men and women, and little children. The Monkes dissembled this flight, that they might the better intrap them all at once. They went to *la Garde*, not threatning any one of those that stayed in *Saint Xist*. Being there, they caused the gates of the Towne to be locked, and the people to be assembled. They told them, that they of *Saint Xist* had abiured their Religion, and being gone to the Masse, had asked pardon at Gods hands, promising them if they would doe the like, that no man should offer the least hurt that might be. These poore people thinking the Monkes had spoken a truth vnto them, they were content to yeeld to whatsoeuer they would haue them doe: But when they had vnderstood, that their brethren of *Saint Xist* had refused to goe to Masse, and that they were fled into the woods, they were ashamed of their weaknesse, and much displeased with their reuolte, and therefore instantly resolved with themselves, to goe with their wiues and children, to their bretheren of

Saint *Xist*, but the Lord of the place *Saluator Spinello* would not suffer them to retire themselves in so miserable a manner, promising to defend them against whomsoever, provided (saith he) that they carried themselves like good *Romish* Catholikes. In the meane time the Monkes sent after those of Saint *Xist* two Companies of foote-men, who ran after these poore people, as after wild beasts, crying out, *Amassa, amassa*, that is, kill, kill. They slew diuers of them. But they that could get to the top of the mountaine, being on the hight of the rockes, intreated they might be heard, which being granted, they beseeched them to haue pittie vpon them, and vpon their wiues and children; that they would call to minde, that they had inhabited in those Countries, from the father to the sonne for some ages, and that in all that time, there was not any that could complaine of their conuersation, and yet neuerthelesse, if they could not continue in their houses, in that belife wherein they had liued to this present, if they might be permitted to betake themselves, either by sea or by land, to the protection of God, with their onely persons, and some few commodities, and so retire themselves whether it should please the Lord to conduct them, they would very willingly forsake all their goods, rather then to fall into any idolatry, promising both for themselves and all theirs, neuer to returne to their houses againe. They beseeched them euen for Gods cause, not to driue them to such necessities, as that they must be enforced to defend themselves, for if they should be once out of all hope of mercy, it would be dangerous for themselves, who had driuen them to these extremities. The souldiers were the more stirred

stirred vp against them, and presently made a violent assault vpon them, which bound these poore people to a iust defence, and so being assisted by God, they slew the greatest part of the Souldiers that pursued them, and put the rest to flight. The Monkes the Inquisitors, writ to the Vice-roy of *Naples*, that he should speedily send some companies of Souldiers, to apprehend certaine Heretickes of Saint *Xist*, and *la Garde*, who were fled into the woods, and that in so doing, he should doe that which was pleasing to the Pope, and meritorious to himselfe, if he shall deliuer the Church from such contagion. The Vice-roy came himselfe with his troupes. Being arriued at Saint *Xist*, he caused to be proclaimed by the sound of a trumpet, that the place was condemned to be exposed to fire and sword. But in the meane time before his arriual, the women had leasure to returne to Saint *Xist*, whether they ran together, to seeke for viuals to feede their husbands and children, which were in the wood. The Viceroy caused it to be proclaimed throughout the Realme of *Naples*, that all banished people that would come to the warres against the Heretickes of Saint *Xist*, should be pardoned all their offences formerly committed; whereupon great numbers gathered themselves together, and were conducted to the woods, where the fugitiues of Saint *Xist* were, and they gaue them the chase in so rigorous a manner, that in the end, after the slaughter of diuers of these poore people, the rest of them being fore wounded, retired themselves into the caues vpon the high rockes, where the greatest part of them died with famine. The Monkes Inquisitors made shew of much discontent, and that they were much displea-

displeased with that which had happened, and being retired to *Cossence*, where the *Sindie* of Saint *Xist* appeared before them, they wished him speedily to withdraw himselfe, for feare least the Viceroy should know of his being there, and so apprehend him. This brought those of *la Garde* a sleepe, who being cited by a publike proclamation to appeare before the said Inquisitors at *Cossence*, or before the Viceroy at *Folcade*, they were easily perswaded to beleue the promises and faire speeches of the said Inquisitors. For being arriued at *Folcade*, there were seuentie of them apprehended, and being bound, were brought to *Montaud* before the Inquisitor *Panza*, who put them all to the racke. Amongst others, he tormented one *Steuen Charlin* with such violence, that his bowels brake out of his belly, and all to extort from him, this confession and imposture, that is, that they sometimes assembled themselves by night to commit whoredomes; and damnable incests, the candles being put out. But notwithstanding his extreame torture, they could neuer get from him the confession of so great a wickednesse.

There was another called *Vermine*, who with the extreame paine he endured vpon the racke, promised to goe to *Masse*; The Inquisitor thinking, that since the torment of the racke, had enforced him to forsake his Religion, that redubling the violence thereof, he might draw from this feeble and tired person, the confession of the former imposture. And so caused him to be tormented in such a manner, that many times he left him eight houres together vpon the racke, but yet could neuer get from his mouth so horrible a calumnie.

Another

Another named *Marcon*, being stript starke naked was beaten with rods of iron, afterwards drawn through the streets, and burnt with fire-brands. One of his sonnes was killed with kniues, the other was brought to a high tower, where there was offered vnto him a Crucifix, with promise that if he would kisse it, his life should be saued. He answered, that hee would rather die, then commit idolatry, and though he were cast headlong from that tower, as he was threatned, yet he had rather his body should be broken to peeces here on earth, then by denying Christ and his truth, his soule should be cast into hell. The Inquisitor being much enraged with this answer commanded him to be cast from the tower, to the end (saith he) we may see whether his God will protect him. *Bernard Conte* was condemned to be burnt alive, and as he was led to the fire, he cast to the earth a certaine Crucifix, which the Executioner had fastened to his hands. The Inquisitor hereupon commanded him to be sent backe to prison, to the end his paine might be aggravated, and so sent him to *Cossence*, where he caused him to be couered with pitch, and so burnt. Besides, this Inquisitor *Panza*, cut the throats of fourescore, as a butcher doth his muttons; afterwards he caused them to be diuided into foure quarters, and commanded that the high waies from *Montaud* to *Chasteau Kilan* should be set with stakes for the space of thirty miles, and caused a quarter to be fastened to euery stake, and in a place called *Moran*, he caused to be hanged and strangled, foure of the principall men of *la Garde*, that is to say, *James Ferner*, *Anthony Palumb*, *Peter Inzio*, and *Iohn Morglia*, who died very constantly. A certaine yong man named *Samson*, defen-

defended himself a long time against those, that would haue apprehended him; but in the end being wounded, he was taken and led to a high tower, where he was willed to confesse himselfe to a Priest that was there present, before he should be cast from the tower, which he refused to doe, saying, that he had confes- sed himselfe to God. So the Inquisitor commanded him to be cast ouer. The next day the Viceroy pass- ing below by the tower, he found this poore man languishing, hauing his bones broken, and imploring the mercy of God, to whom he gaue a kicke on the head with his foote, saying, *Is this dogge yet aliue, cast him out to the hogges.*

Threescore women of Saint *Xist* were brought to the racke, and vsed with such violence, that the cordes pierced into their armes and legges, in such sort, that in their wounds there were ingendred a great quantity of wormes, which fed vpon them be- ing aliue, they not knowing how to remedy it, vntill some one or other hauing compassion on them, gaue them secretly lyme, which caused them to fall from them. They died almost all miserably in prison. Nine of the chiefe and handsomest amongst them were lost, and it was neuer knowne what became of them, after they were deliuered to the Fathers of the Inquisition.

This Inquisitor retired himselfe to Saint *Agathe*, where hee deliuered a great number to the secular power, and if any man offered to intercede for them, he caused him to be put to the racke, as a fauourer of Heretickes, in such sort, that in the end there was not any that durst to open his mouth in their behalfe.

Pope *Pius* the fourth of that name, sent for their
utter

destruction, the Marquis of *Eutiane*, with promise that if he would doe that good office to the holy Sea, as to cleere *Calabria* of those *Waldenses* that had there taken footing, he would giue vnto his sonne a Car- dinals hat. The Marquis tooke no great paines to ex- ecute his Commission, for the Monkes the Inquisi- tors, and the Viceroy of *Naples* had almost put all to death that they could apprehend, having sent to the Galleys of *Spaine* the strongest of them, and con- demned to perpetuall banishment the fugitiues, sold and killed woman and children.

As touching their Ministers, *Stenen Negrin* was sent to prison at *Cossence*, where he died with fa- mine. *Lewis Paschal* was carried to *Rome*, where he was condemned to be burnt aliue. Pope *Pius* the fourth, would needs feede his eye with this last pu- nishment of him, that had maintained him to be An- tichrist, being present at his death with many of his Cardinals. But the Pope could haue wished himselfe elswhere, or that *Paschal* had been mute, or the people deafe. For he spake many things against the Pope out of the word of God, which gaue him a great deale of discontent. Thus did this good man die, calling vpon God with an ardent zeale, that he much moued the standers by, and made the Pope and his Cardinals to gnash their teeth for anger. Thus haue you seen the end of the *Waldenses* of *Calabria*, who were wholly exterminated; For if any of the fugitiues be returned, it is vpon condition that they liue according the lawes of the Church of *Rome*.

See before in Arch-
deacon of *Cossence*,
of the Monke *Minor Francis*,
1380.
CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Waldenses inhabiting in Prouence, and the persecutions which they haue suffered.

THe Waldenses inhabiting in Prouence, in the parts of *Cabrieres Merindol, la Cofte*, and other places neere adioyning, haue been held for the originall ofspring of the Waldenses inhabiting in *Dauphine* and *Piedmont*, as it may very well appeare by the families of the same name; as also there are amongst them, that can proue their progeny or ofspring. And vpon this occasion it was, that they of *Calabria* sojourned in in Prouence, that is, to disburden their Valleys of the great multitudes of people that were there. And though in the beginning of their arrivall in Prouence, the Country where they made their abode was a desert, yet they made it in few yeeres fertile and fit (by the blessing of God) to yeeld Corne, Wine, oyle, of Oliues, Chestnuts, and other fruits, and that in great abundance.

The first persecutions which they suffered, are not come to our knowledge, notwithstanding we finde euen at this day, the Commissions that haue been giuen by the Popes and Anti-popes residing in *Anignon*, very neere to the place of their abiding, against the Waldenses inhabiting in Prouence, as that of the Arch-deacon of *Cremona*, *Albert de Capitaneis*, and of the Monke frier Minor *Francis Borelli*, hauing Commission against them, in the year 1380, to make in-
inqui

See before in
the 3. Chap.

1380.

Chap. 8. of the Waldenses.

inquiry of the Waldenses in the Diocesse of *Aix* in Prouence, *Arles*, and *Selon*. As also when they were retired into the said Prouince in the yeere 1128, when the Arch-bishop of *Aix*, *Arles*, and of *Narbonne* were assembled at *Anignon* to giue aduice to the Inquisitors touching the Waldenses, who then said (as you haue heard before) that the Inquisitors had apprehended so great a number, that there was not onely a want of victuall to feed them, but of lyme and stone to build their prisons. It is most certaine, that then the Waldenses of Prouence, dwelling as it were, in the very gates of the Popes Palace, and about their Earledome of *Anignon* were not forgotten: But forasmuch as we haue no Copies of instruments, that may make good the said persecutions, we will insert into this discourse nothing but what we shall be able sufficiently to proue.

The first persecution is that, whereof we haue the History in the time of King *Lewis* the twelfth, about the yeere 1506, That is, that this good King being informed, that there were in Prouence a certaine kind of people, that liued not according to the lawes of the Church of *Rome*, but were an accursed people, committing all manner of wickednesse and villanies, euen such, as the very memory of them strooke a horrour into mens hearts, and the Christians in the primitive Church had been vpbraided with; he gaue Commission to his Court of Parliament in Prouence to take knowledge thereof, and to chastise them according to their merit. Whereunto the said Court hauing diligently attended, so soone as the King vnderstood, that diuers innocent persons were put to death, he limited the authority of the said Court, and would

1128.

See Chap. 2.

1560.

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*Resembecius in
Oratione de
Waldensibus.*

*Resembecius in
Oratione de
Waldensibus.
His auditis Rex
iureiurando
addito me, in-
quit, & cetero
populo meo Ca-
tholico melio-
res illi viri
sunt.*

not suffer them to continue their executions, vntill he were truly informed, what kind of people they were, that to him had been reported to be so wicked. To this purpose he sent Master *Adam Fume*, his Master of requests, who told him at his returne, that what had been giuen him to vnderstand, touching the *Waldenses* of *Prouence*, was very vntrue; for they were not any way tainted, either with forcery, or whoredome, but that they liued like honest men, doing hurt to no man: they caused their children to be baptized, taught them the Articles of their beleefe, and the Commandements of God, they carefully kept the Lords day, and the word of God was purely expounded vnto them. A certaine Iacobin Monke, named *Parni*, confessor to the King, witnessed as much, who by the King was ioyned in Commission with the said Master of Requests. Which the King hauing vnderstood, he said, and bound it with an oath, that they were honest men then himsele, or the rest of his Catholike people. This persecution being staid by King *Lewis* the twelfth, they continued in peace vnto the raigne of King *Francis* the first of that name, and at what time there was some speech in *France* of a reformation of Religion, they sent two of their Pastors, that is to say, *George Morel* of *Frasiniere* in *Dauphine*, and *Peter Masson* of *Burgundy*, to *Oecolampadius* Minister at *Basle*; to *Capito*, and *Martin Bucer* at *Strasbourg*, and to *Berthand Haller* at *Berne*, to conferre with them about matters touching their Religion, and to haue their aduice and counsell about many points wherein they desired to be better satisfied. The Letters which *Oecolampadius* and *Bucer* sent vnto them, are set downe at length in the first booke

Booke of this History, the Sixt Chapter, where I endeauoured to make it appeare vnto the world, that many great personages amongst them, that made profession of reformation, haue giuen testimony of their piety and probity, which is the reason why we insert them not againe in this discourse, onely we will produce those of the *Waldenses* in their own language, and afterwards in English.

Saluta Monseignor Oecolampadio.

*Car moti racontant, a sona a nostras oreillas, que
caquel que po totas cosas, &c.*

The Letter of the Waldenses of Prouence to M^r. Oecolampadius.

Healeth to Master Oecolampadius.

FORasmuch as diuers haue giuen vs to vnderstand, and the report is come vnto our eares, that he that is able to doe all things, hath replenished you with the blessings of his holy Spirit, as it well appeares by the fruites, we who liue farre distant from you, haue thought good to haue recourse vnto you, and with ioyfull hearts we hope and trust, that the holy Ghost will illuminate vs by your meanes, and will satisfie vs, concerning many things, whereof we are now in doubt, and are hidden from vs, because of our ignorance, and negligence, and as it is to be feared to our great hinderance, and the people whom

we teach with great insufficiency. For that you may know at once how matters stand; Wee, such as we are, weake instructors of this little flocke, haue remained for aboue foure hundred yeeres in the midst of sharpe and cruell thornes, and yet in the meane time, not without the great fauour of Christ, as all the faithfull can easily testifie; for this people hath many times been deliuered by the fauour and mercy of God, being gored and tormented by the said thornes. And therefore we come vnto you to be counselled and confirmed in our weaknesse.

They writ another Letter to the same purpose, to *Martin Bucer*, the which for breuities sake we omit, wherein they relate, that they had addressed themselves for the selfesame cause to their brethren of *Newcastle*, *Marat*, and *Berne*, which shewes how carefull the *Waldenses* were, to seeke out all manner of meanes, that their vnderstandings might be enlightned in the mysteries of piety for the saluation of their soules, especially seeing, that then they sought the meanes to aduance and order their Church in the open view of the world, when the fires were kindled throughout all *France*, against those of the same Religion that they were, who in those times were called *Lutherans*. The greater therefore that their zeale was, the more they stirred vp their enemies against them, and plunged themselves into the greater dangers. But as all are not victorious by faith, but there are alwaies some weake, who take counsell of the flesh, and perswade themselves without reason, that they can crooch and bow themselves, in those places where God is offended by idolatry, and yet keepe the heart pure and neate

neate vnto God; *Oecolampadius* from thence takes occasion, to write that which followeth, to be deliuered to those dissemblers, which walke not with an vpright foote before God.

The Letter of *Oecolampadius*, written to the *Waldenses* of *Prouence*, who thought they could serue God, by prostituting their bodies before Popish Idols. Written in the yeere

1530.

Oecolampadius desires the grace of God the Father, by his Sonne *Iesus Christ*, and his holy Spirit, to his well-beloued Brethren in *Christ*, who are called *Waldenses*.

WE vnderstand, that the feare of persecution hath made you to dissemble in your faith, and that you hide it. Now we beleeue with the heart to righteousness, and confesse with the mouth to saluation; but they that feare to confesse *Christ* before the world, shall not be receiued by God the Father. For our God is truth, without any dissimulation, and as he is a iealous God, he cannot endure that they that are his, should ioyne together vnder the yoake of *Antichrist*, for there is no communicio of *Christ* with *Belial*: And if you commu-

nicate

nicate with the infidels, in going to their abominable Masses, you cannot but perceiue their blasphemies against the death and passion of Christ: For when they glory in themselves, that by the meanes of such sacrifice, they satisfie God, for the sinnes of the liuing and the dead, what can follow, but that Iesus Christ hath not sufficiently satisfied, by the sacrifice of his death and passion, and consequently that Christ is not Iesus, that is, a Saviour, and that he died for you in vaine. If then we haue communion at this impure table, we declare our selues to be one body with the wicked, how irkesome so euer it be vnto vs. And when we say Amen to their prayers, doe we not deny Christ? What death should we not rather chuse? What paine and torment should we not rather suffer? Nay, into what hell ought we not rather to plunge our selues, then to witnesse by our presence, that we consent vnto the blasphemies of the wicked. I know that your weaknesse is great, but it is necessary, that they that haue learned that they are bought by the blood of Christ, should be more couragious, and alwaies feare him, that can cast both body and soule into hell. And what shall it suffice vs, to haue a care of this life onely? shall that be more precious vnto vs, then that of Christ? And are we contented to haue tasted the delights of this world onely? Crownes are prepared for vs, and shall we turne backe againe? And who will beleue, that our faith hath been true, if it faile and faint in the heat of persecution? Let vs therefore pray vnto God to increase our faith. For certainly it shall be better for vs to die, then to be overcome by temptations. And therefore brethren, we exhort you to diue into the bottome of this businesse.

For

For if it to be lawfull to hide our faith vnder Antichrist, it shall be likewise lawfull to hide it vnder the Empire of the Turke, and with *Dioclesian* to adore *Iupiter* and *Venus*, nay, it had been lawfull for *Tobit* to adore the calfe in *Bethel*. And what then shall our faith towards God be? If we honour not God as we should, and if our life be nothing but Hipocrisy and dissimulation, he will spew vs out of his mouth, as being neither hot nor cold. And how doe we glorifie our Lord in the midst of our tribulations, if we deny him? Brethren it is not lawfull for vs to looke backe when our hand is at the plough, neither is it lawfull to giue care to our wiues entising vs to euill, that is to say, to our flesh, which notwithstanding it indure many things in this world, yet in the haue it suffereth shipwracke.

These godly admonitions preuailed much for the confirmation of the more weake, and they came in very good time for those who presently after were sifted with many tempestuous outrages, and euen one of those that brought the Letters made good vse of them, that is to say, *Peter Masson*, who was apprehended at *Diion*, where he was condemned to death for a *Lutheran*. *George Morel* saued himselfe with his letters and papers, and came sound and safe into *Provence*, where he bestowed much paines, and with happy successe, in the establishing of the Churches of the *Waldenses*, of which the Court of Parliament at *Aix* did every day apprehend one faithfull member or other, whom they either condemned to the fire, or sent to the gibbet, or dismissed with *markes in their foreheads*; vntill that in the yeere 1540, the Inhabitants

1540.

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bitants of *Merindol* were summoned, in the person of five or six of the principall, at the earnest importunity of the Kings Atturney in the Parliament of *Aix*, and the sollicitation of the Arch-bishop of *Arles*, the Bishop of *Aix* other Ecclesiasticall persons. A sentence was giuen against them, the most exorbitant, cruell, and inhumane, that euer was in any Parliament, like in all things, to that edict of King *Assuerus*, granted at the instance of *Aman*, against the people of God, as it is written in the History of *Hester*. For besides that, the men and women that were summoned for contumacy, were condemned to be burnt aliue, by the said sentence, their children and families outlawed, it was decreed that the place of *Merindol* should be altogether made vnhabitable, the woods cut downe, two hundred paces round about it, and all this without any audience or leaue granted to any to speake a word.

The King being informed of the rigour of this Edict, sent into *Prouence* the Lord du *Langeai* to enforme him of the manners and beleefe of the said *Waldenses*, and vnderstanding that many things were laid to the charge of this people, which they were not guilty of, King *Francis* the first of that name, sent Lettes of grace and fauour, not onely in behalfe of those that had offended by contumacy, but all the rest of the Country of *Prouence*, expressly commanding the Parliament from thence forward, not in that case to proceed so rigerously, as they had done in times past. These Letters were suppressed. They that were personally summoned made request, that it might bee lawfull for them to answer by a Proctor.

Francis

Francis Chai, and *William Armand* appeared for all the rest, requesting in their names, that it might be made to appeare vnto them in what they had erred, and that by the word of God, being ready to abiure all heresie, if once they might know that they were fallen into any. And for this cause they deliuered vnto them in writing, a confession of their faith, to the end if they found any thing worthy reprehension by the holy Scriptures, they might be instructed concerning that which they were to recant; or if they found nothing that they could reprehend, that they might be no more molested by so many and so grievous persecutions; for feare lest thinking they made warre onely against men, it should appeare that they made it against God and his truth, and those that maintained it.

All their petitions serued to no other end, then to prouoke them the more; for the Iudges being possessed with an opinion, that they were Heretikes, refusing to take the paynes to know and examine the truth, they made all their Acts in fauour of the Priests that accused them. In such sort that when the Cardinall of *Tournon* had obtained at a high price Letters from the King for the execution of the aforesaid Decree, notwithstanding the pardon and reuocation before obtained, it was executed.

This was in the yeere 1545, that the President of *Opede*, Governour of *Prouence* in the absence of the Earle of *Grignan*, deputed for Commissioners, the President *Francis de la Fon*, *Honoré de Triburiis*, and *Bernard Badet* Counsellor, and the Aduocate *Guerin* in the absence of the Procurator Generall. He dispatched sundry Commissions, and proclaimed the

P p 2

warre

warre with sound of trumper, both at *Aix*, and at *Marseilles*. So the troopes being leuied, and the five ensignes of the old bands of *Piedmont* ioyned with them, the army marched to *Pertuis*, and the next day being the fourteenth of Aprill, they went to *Cadinet*, and the sixteenth, they began to set fire to the Villages of *Cabrieres*, *Pepin*, *la Mothe*, and *Saint Martin*, belonging to the Lord of *Sental*, then vnder age. There the poore labourers without any resistance were slaine, women and their daughters rauished, some great with childe murdered, without any mercy. The breasts of many women were cut off, after whose deaths the poor infants died with famine, *d'Opede* hauing caused Proclamation to be made vpon paine of the with, that no man should giue any reliefe or sustenance to any of them. All things were ransacked, burnt, pilld, and there were none saued aliue, but those that were reserved for the Gallies. The seuenteenth day, *Opede* commanded the old bands of *Piedmont* to draw neere, and the day following hee burnt the Villages of *Lormarin*, *Ville Laure*, and *Treze mines*, and at the same time on the other side of *Durance*, *le Rieur de la Rocque*, and others of the Towne of *Arles* burnt *Gensson* and *la Rocque*. *Opede* being come to *Merindol*, he found not any there, but onely a yong lad called *Morisi Blanc*, a very simple fellow, who yeelded himselfe prisoner to a Souldier, with promise of two crownes for his ransome; *d'Opede* finding none other vpon whom he might wreake his anger, payed the two crownes to the Souldier, and so commanding him to be bound to a tree, caused him to be slaine with hargubuse shot: Afterwards, he commanded the said Towne to be pilld, sacked, and vtterly

vtterly razed and laid keuell with the ground, where there were aboute two hundred houses.

There remained the Towne of *Cabrieres* compassed with walles, which were beaten with the Cannon; These poore people being sicke within, who were about some threescore boores or Pesants of the Country, called vnto them, that they needed not to spend so much powder and paines to batter the Walles, because they were ready to open the gates vnto them, and to quit themselues of the place and Country, and to depart to *Genena*, or into *Germany* with their wiues and children, leauing all their goods behind them, onely that their passage might be free.

The Lord of *Cabrieres* treated for them, that their cause might be determined by iustice, without force or violence: But *Opede* being within the Town, he commanded the men to be brought into a field, and to be cut in peeces with swords, these valiant executioners struiuing who could shew the best manhood in cutting off heads, armes, and legges. He caused the women to be locked vp in a barne full of straw, and so put fire vnto it, where were burnt many women great with childe. Wherewith a Souldier being moued to compassion, hauing made an ouerture for them, they were beaten backe into the fire with pikes and holberds. The rest of these men, that were found hidden in the caues, were brought into the Hall of the Castle, where they were horribly massacred in the presence of the said *Opede*. As for the women and children, that were found in the Temple, they were exposed to the chiefe Bauds and Ruffians of *Anignon*, who slew about eight hundred persons, without distinction of age or sexe. About the end of this execution

cution le *Sieur de la Cotte*, kinsman to *Opede*, came thither, who intreated him to send him some men of warre, offering to bring all his souldiers into *Aix*, and to make as many breaches in the wall as hee would; which was granted by word of mouth, but not wholly performed. For three Ensignes of foot-men were sent thither, who pillaged whatsoeuer seemed good vnto them, burnt a part of the Towne, rauished women and their daughters, and killed some Boores, not finding any resistance. In this meane time the rest of those of *Merindol* and other places, were in great extremities in the mountaines and rockes, persecuted by *Opede* and his army. They intreated him, that hee would permit them to retire themselues to *Geneua*, with the rest of their wiues and children, promising to leaue behind them all their goods. Hee answered, that hee would send them all to dwell in the Country of hell, with all the diuels, them, their wiues and children, in such a manner, that there should be no memory left of them.

King *Francis* being aduertised of those cruelties that were executed in pursuit of the said arrest, was much displeased therewith, in such sort, that at the very point of death, being wounded with some remorse of conscience, principally because it had all passed vnder his name and authority, being sorry because hee could inflict no punishment vpon them before his death, that had shed so much innocent blood, hee gaue in charge to his sonne *Henry* to bee reuenged on them, in prosecution whereof, after the decease of his father, hee sent out his Letters Patents in the yeere one thousand five hundred forty nine,

nine, by which hee tooke vnto himselfe and into his owne hands, the cause of the said *Waldenses* of *Provence*: but there was none but the *Adiuocate Guerin* that was hanged, because hee had falsly informed the King, when hee kept backe the reuocation of the first retention of the cause of those of *Merindol*, whereupon presently followed the execution of the Arrest of the Court of Parliament of *Aix*. And all the rest that were faulty, escaped vpon this consideration, that it was to no purpose to attempt any more against the *Lutherans* at that time.

Touching the rest that escaped this massacre, some there were that retired themselues to *Geneua*, others into *Switzerland*, others into *Germany*, and others continued neere thereabouts, tilling their land by stealth; and so by little and little, returned home to their old habitations, which they built and repaired at such times as they could by the benefit of the aforesaid Edicts; and were afterwards the seed of many goodly Churches, which at this day are gathered together, flourishing in all piety and zeale, as other Churches in the Kingdom of *France*.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Waldenses that did flie into Bohemia, and those persecutions which they suffered, that haue come to our knowledge.

Albertus de Capitanis lib. de origine Waldensium.

Tbuanus in historia sui temporis, pa. 457.

Petrus Valdes eorum Antesignanus, patria relictus in

Belgium venit, atq; in Picardiam quam hodie vocant, multos

sectatores nactus cum inde in Germaniam transisset per

Vandalicas ciuitates diu diuersatus est, ac postremo in Bohemia confedit.

See what is said of these two Barbes before in the first booke Chap. 9.

Vineau in his memor. fol. 15



Iuers haue written, that Waldo at his departure from Lion, came into Dauphine, and from thence (hauing erected and ordered some Churches, and laid the foundations of them, which haue been miraculously preserved vnto this present time) he went into Languedoc, and there he left excellent Pastors, who ordered and instructed those Churches, that afterwards cost the Pope and his Clergy so much to destroy; and from thence he went into Picardy, from whence being chased, he tooke his iourney into Germany, and from Germany he retired himselfe into Bohemia, where (according to the opinion of some) he ended his dayes. The Waldenses inhabiting in Dauphine, Piedmont, and Prouence, haue had communion and intelligence with their Brethren retired into Bohemia, for prooffe whereof, we haue the message of Daniel de Valence, and Iohn de Molin Pastors in Bohemia, who did much hurt to the Churches of that Country, by reuealing vnto the aduersaries those flocks or companies, which before were hidden and vnknowne, because of the great and grievous persecutions that then were.

We haue also a certaine Apology of the Waldenses of Bohemia in the Waldensian tongue, in the forme of a Letter,

Letter, which they wirt to King Ladislaus, wherof the Inscription is.

Al Serenissimo Princi Rey Lancetao. A li Duc Barons, & a li plus veil del Regne. Lo petit tropel de li Christians appella per false nom salvement Pauuers o Valdes. Gratia sia en Dio lo Paire & en Iesus lo Filli de luy.

This Letter makes prooffe of the Communion which the Waldenses of Dauphine haue had with those of Bohemia, in that they haue had in their language this Letter, which containes a iust Apology against those impostures, and other faults which in former times haue been imputed to the one and to the other, and haue been common with the Christians of the primitive Church. We haue also in the same volume a treatise, the inscription whereof is this. *Aico es la causa del nostre despartiment de la Gleisa Romana.* That is to say, This is the cause of our separation from the Church of Rome. Causes which haue been common with all those, that haue withdrawn themselves from that Church, for feare of participating of her plagues.

The Author of the Catalogue of witnesses of the truth, makes mention of a certaine forme of Inquisition, which was practised against the Waldenses of Bohemia vnder King Iohn, which was about the yeere 1330. As also in another Inquisition this is noted, that the Waldenses of Bohemia sent into Lombardy to the Waldensian Doctors, those whom they would haue trained vp in the profession of Diuinity.

Q9

In

See Moreland's History

Flar. III. lib. 6. c. 1. al. test. veris. p. 116.

Lib. de origine
Ecclesiarū Bo-
hemie. pa. 273.
Sed cum oppres-
sa tyrannide
Pontificia con-
uentus publicos
nullos haberent
neq. scripta bo-
rum extarent
ulla, ignote ro-
stris prorsus
fuerit.
Esrom Rudiger
in narratiuncu-
la de Ecclesijs
fratrum in Bo-
hemia Valden-
ses ad minimum
CCXL. annis
originem no-
stram antece-
dunt.

In the treatise of the beginning of the Churches of *Bohemia*, at what time the doctrine of *Iohn Hus* was there receiued, the Pastors, Ancients, and faithfull of *Bohemia* say, that the *Waldensian* Churches of *Bohemia*, had been oppressed by the tyranny of the Pope, in such manner, that they had no more assemblies, and that there were no more of their writings to be found in *Bohemia*.

Esrom Rudiger in his treatise of the Churches of *Bohemia*, saith, that the *Waldenses* haue had their Churches, at the least two hundred and forty yeeres before those of the *Hussites*, and though he confesse that their beliefe was one and the same, yet he affirmeth that there was not in their times any memory of their Churches, but onely of those that were in *France* at *Merindoll*, and the places neere adioyning. And that when they sent to *Bohemia* to ioyne themselves vnto them in the confession of their faith, they enquired of them, whether they made any publike profession of the truth: and when they had vnderstood, that there were some amongst them, that sometimes frequented Papisticall Churches, and were present at those idolatries that were there committed, they did bitterly reprehend them for it.

And therefore they that haue answered vnder the name of the *Waldenses*, and haue brought vnto light their confession, which at this day is to be found in the Catalogue of things to be desired, are not any of the *Waldenses*, but one of those that by way of reproach were afterwards so called, and they haue not been ashamed of that name, assuring themselves of the purity of their doctrine. And this notwithstanding, they reuiue againe this common opinion when they affirme

See the Con-
fession of the
Waldenses in
the Catalogue
rerum expeten-
darum.
Lib. de orig. &
confess. Eccl.
Bohem.
Scimus quod
multi boni viri,
& veritatis E-

affirme that they know well, that there are many good men, that follow and loue the truth of the Gospell, who being deceiued by false markes and notes, whereby they haue described vs (say they) haue held vs for *Waldenses*.

And euen there to, they giue this testimony of the *Waldenses*, that there is in them much light and knowledge, and that they haue well vnderstood and purely taught many things, yea and that they haue suffered much for the truth, especially in *France*; And so they desired to be distinguished from them, to the end that if it were obserued, that the *Waldenses* had done much for the establishment of the truth in their times, that it might likewise be knowne, that the *Hussites* haue not done little in their time.

Aeneas Syluius reporteth of one *Iames de Mifne*, and *Peter de Dreze* disciples of the *Waldenses*, that they went into *Bohemia* in the time of *Iohn Hus*, and that ha- uing conferred with him, he made profession of their doctrine, and they themselves deny it not: for thy say that *Wicklif* was assisted to shake off the yoke of the Pope, by example of the *Waldenses*, and that *Wicklif* was the instrument which God had ysed for the instruction of *Iohn Hus*, who taught in *Bohemia*, and that therefore they haue thought themselves much bound to the Churches of the *Waldenses*, because whatsoever good there hath been in the said Churches, they say, was transported vnto theirs, and so haue they been in some sort, the beginning of theirs.

uangelica in-
flaurata cultu-
res & sectato-
res p. seducti
& indicationi-
bus falsis & cri-
minationib. ad-
uersariorum,
pro Valdensib.
nos habeant.
Ibid.
Hoc quidem
constat, multum
in ipsis lucis
fuisse & de ple-
riscq. eos recte
sensisse & do-
cuisse, & prop-
ter veritatem
grauissima per-
pesso. in Gallia
in primis.
Aeneas Siluius
in hls history
of the Tabo-
rites.

CHAP. X.

Of the Waldenses inhabiting in Austria, and the persecutions which they suffered.



See the Chronicle of Hirsauge.

He number of the *Waldenses* that inhabited in *Austria* was very great, who were there grievously persecuted, as may appear if we had no other prooffe then the *Chronicle Hirsauge*; where it is observed that about the yeere one thousand foure hundred, there were burnt a great number in the City of *Creme*, which is in the said Dukedome of *Austria*. But more then that, that which troubled the heads of the persecuters a great deale more, was the speech of one of them, who being executed at *Vienna*, the principall City in *Austria*, said at his execution, that there were in that Country, of the same beliefe that he professed, about fourescore thousand.

1467.

About the yeere of our Lord, one thousand foure hundred sixty seven, the *Hussites* reforming their Churches, and separating them from the Church of *Rome*, they vnderstood, that there were in *Austria* Churches of the ancient *Waldenses*, vpon the frontiers of *Bohemia*, in the which there were great and learned men appointed for Pastors, & that the doctrine of the Gospell flourished amongst them. That they might know the truth thereof, they deputed two of their Brethren, amongst their Pastors, and two Ancients, with charge to enquire and know, what those flocks or cōgregations were, for what cause they had for-

forfaken the Church of *Rome*, their principles and progression, that they should make knowne vnto them the beginnings of their carriage, or demeanor in *Bohemia*, and giue a reason why they were seperated from the Romish Church.

These men being come thither, and hauing carefully inquired into the state of those Churches of the *Waldenses*, and hauing found them, they told them, that they did nothing but what was ordered by our Lord Iesus Christ, and taught by his Apostles, holding themselves wholly to the institution of the Sonne of God in the matter of Sacraments.

It contented the *Waldenses* very much, to vnderstand that there were in *Bohemia* a number of people, that had giuen vnto God the glory, and removed from them the abuse and idolatries of the Church of *Rome*, exhorting them in the name of God, to continue in that which they had so well begun, for the knowledge and maintenance of the truth, and for the establisment of a good discipline, and in witnesse of the great ioy they receiued, and that holy Society and Communion, that they desired to haue with them, they blessed them in praying for them, and laying their hands vpon them.

Afterwards the said *Waldenses* related vnto them, how God had miraculously preserved them, for these many hundred yeers, notwithstanding the diuers great and continuall persecutions which they had endured; And so they louingly and gently tooke their leaue of their said brethren, and at their returne related whatsoeuer they had seen or done in that their voyage, from whence they receiued vnspeakable contentment, and from that time forward, there continued

Ioachim Cam:
in bist. de Ecclesia Fratrum in Bohemia & Moravia
p. 104.

a holy affection and desire to communicate together as oft as they could, for their common edification. In prosecution whereof, the brethren of *Bohemia* visited by Letters the *Waldenses* of *Austria*, giuing them to vnderstand, that they had receiued great comfort by their last communication they had with them; but yet as they desired not to be flattered in any defect or fault whatsoever, so they could not dissemble without some defect of charity, what they had found in them, worthy reprehension; And that was, that they yeelded too much to their infirmities, since that hauing once knowne the truth, they neuertheless frequented Papisticall Churches, being present at those idolatries, which they condemned, basely prophaning and polluting themselves, that wee are not onely certainly to beleue with the heart; but wee must likewise make confession with our mouth to saluation. Moreouer they told them of another fault, which they had taken notice of, and that was, that they were too carefull in heaping vp gold and siluer, for though the end were good, that is, to helpe and comfort them in time of persecution; yet forasmuch as euery day brought with it affliction enough, and that such cares are not besitting those that are to looke onely before them, and to lay vp a treasure in heauen, they condemned that which was superabundant in them, and which in the end they would principally rely vpon.

*Joachim Cam.
in Hist. de Ec-
clesijs fratrum
in Bohemia &
Moravia p. 105*

The *Waldenses* of *Austria* did heartly thanke them, intreating them to continue this holy affection towards them, and for their part to doe their best endeauour to further their communion, and to appoint a day

day and place of meeting and conference: for they hauing a long time knowne those their defects, which they had taken notice of, as yet they had not power to prouide conuenient remedies for the same, but their hope was, that being altogether, they should be able better to resolute with themselves, as also touching many other points of greatest moment. Now when it was euen vpon the point to send to the place where they had agreed to meete and to assemble themselves, they began to doubt that the businesse might be discouered, and it might be dangerous to all of them. And besides that, they considered with themselves that they had been supported, notwithstanding their assemblies and beliefe were sufficiently knowne, and therefore they should put themselves into extream danger, if they should ioyne themselves with other people. These considerations made their former designs and purposes of their mutuall communications to vanish away; as also in the yeere following, that is, in the yeere one thousand foure hundred sixty eight, the persecution increased against the said *Waldenses* of *Austria*, for there were burnt a great number at *Vienna*. Among others, the History makes mention of one *Steuens* an ancient man, who being there burnt, confirmed many with his constancy. They that would escape this persecution, retired themselves into the coast of *Brandebourg*, where they stayed not long, being also there exposed to fire and sword: Amongst those, there was one named *Tertor*, that retired himselfe into *Bohemia* where hee ioined himselfe to the Churches of the *Hussites*, and finding that a man might there remaine in peace both

1468.

*Joach. Cam. in
hist. de Ecclesijs
fratrum in Bo-
hemia & Mo-
ravia p. 117.*

of body and soule, he returned into his Country, and perswaded many to goe to *Bohemia*, and to inhabit there, who were louingly entertained; and after that time there haue been no assemblies of the *Waldenses* in particular, but they haue ioyned themselues vnto the Churches of the *Hussites*.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Waldenses inhabiting in Germany, and the persecutions that there they suffered, whereof we haue the proofes.

NOtwithstanding that incontinently after that *Peter Waldo* with those that followed him, came into *Germany*, there was so great a persecution along vpon the *Rhine* by the incitement and instigation of the Archbishops of *Mayence* and *Strasbourg*, that there were burnt in one day & in one fire, to the number of eightene, yet wee find that in the time of the Emperor *Frederic* the second, about the yeere one thousand two hundred and thirteene, *Germany*, and especially *Alsacia* was full of the *Waldenses*. The searchers were so diligent and exact, that they were inforced to disperse themselues into other places to auoide the persecution. This flight turned to the great benefit of the Church, because hereby many learned Teachers were scattered here and there, to make knowne vnto the world the purity of their Religion.

1230.

In the yeere one thousand two hundred thirty, a cer-

Dubmanius in
the history of
Bohemia.

Coistans vpon
the Reuel.

Chap. II. of the Waldenses. 129

certaine Inquisitor named *Conrad de Marburg*, was ordained by the Pope, Superintendent of the Inquisition. He exercised this charge with extreame Cruelty, against all sorts of persons, without any respect euen of the Priests themselues, whose bodies and goods he confiscated. He tried men with a hot iron, saying, that they that could hold an iron red hot in their hands and not be burnt, were good Christians; but on the contrary, if they felt the fire, he deliuered them to the secular power. In these times the *Waldenses* had in the Diocesse of *Trenes* many Schooles, wherein they caused their children to be instructed in their beliefe, and notwithstanding all the Inquisitions & persecutions executed vpon their flockes, yet they aduentured to preach, calling their assemblies by the sound of a bell, maintaining in publica statione (saith the Historiographer) publikly that the Pope was an hereticke; his Prelates Simonaicall and seducers of the people. That the truth was not preached but amongst them: and that had not they come amongst them to teach, God before he would haue suffered their faith to perish, would haue raised others, euen the stones themselues, to enlighten his Church by the preaching of the word. Vntill these times (say they) our Preachers haue buried the truth, and preached lyes: we on the contrary preach the truth, and bury falshood and lyes; and lastly we offer not a feined remission, inuented by the Pope, but by God alone, and according to our vocation.

Mathew Paris an English writer obserueth, that about the yeere 1220, there were a great number in a part of *Germany*, that tooke armes, where the *Waldenses*

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Vigier in the
3. part of his
Bibli. Histori-
ale.

Triibem. in
Chron. Hirsau-
giensi.
Goaeфридus
Mon. in Anna-
libus

Kyantz in Me-
tropol. l. 8.
§. 18. & in Sax-
on. l. 8. c. 16.

1220.
Math. Paris in
Henry 3. anno
1220.

aldenses were cut in peeces, being surprised in a place of great disadvantage, hauing on the one side a marish ground, and on the other the sea, in such sort that it was impossible for them to escape.

1330.
Vignier in his
third part of
his Histori-
calle Biblio.
in the
yeere 1330.

About the yeere 1330, they were strangely vexed in many parts of *Germanie*, by a certaine Iacobin Monke Inquisitor, named *Echard*: but after many cruelties executed vpon them, as hee pressed the *Waldenses* to discouer vnto him the reasons for which they were seperated from the Church of *Rome*, being vanquished in his owne conscience, and acknowledging those defects and corruptions which they alleaged to be in the Church of *Rome* to bee true, and not being able to disproue the points of their beliefe by the word of God, he gaue glory vnto God, and confessing that the truth had ouercome him, hee became a member of that Church which hee had a long time before persecuted to the death. The other Inquisitors being aduertised of this alteration, were much displeased, and they sent presently so many after him, that in the end hee was apprehended, and brought to *Heidelberg*, where he was burnt, maintaining that it was iniustice and wrong to condemne so many good men to death for the righteousness of Christ, against the inuentions of Antichrist.

1391.
Krautzius Me-
trop. l. 8. p. 18.
& in Sax. l. 8.
cap. 16.

In the yeere 1391, the Monkes Inquisitors tooke in *Saxony* and *Pomerania* foure hundred forty three *Waldenses*, who all confessed, that they had been instructed in that beliefe for a long time by their ancestors, and that their teachers came from *Bohemia*.

1457.

In the yeere one thousand foure fifty seuen the Monkes Inquisitors of the Diocese of *Eisten* in *Germany*

many discouered many *Waldenses*, which they put to death. They had amongst them twelue Pastors that instructed them.

We must not ouerpasse the thirty fve Burgeses of *Mayence*, that were burned in the Towne of *Bingue*, because they were knowne to be of the beliefe of the *Waldenses*; nor the fourescore which the Bishop of *Strasbourg* caused to be burnt in one fire; nor that which *Trithemius* recounts, that they confessed in in those times, that the number of *Waldenses* was so great, that they could goe from *Cologne* to *Milan*, and lodge themselves with hostes of their owne profession, and that they had signes vpon their houses and gates, whereby the might know them.

But the most excellent instrument amongst them, that God imployed in his seruice, was one *Raynard Lollard*, who at the first was a *Franciscan* Monke, and an enemy of the *Waldenses*, but yet a man carried with a sanctified desire to finde the way of saluation, wherein he had so profited, that his aduersaries themselves were constrained to commend him. For *John le Maire* puts him in the ranke of those holy men, that haue foretold by diuine reuclation, many things that haue come to passe in his time. This worthy man taught the doctrine of the *Waldenses*, was apprehended in *Germany* by the Monkes Inquisitors, and being deliuered to the secular power, was burnt at *Cologne*.

This man hath writ a Commentary vpon the *Apocalypse*, where hee hath set downe many things that are spoken of the *Romane Antichrist*. This was he of whom the faithfull in *England* were called *Lollards*, where he taught; witnesse that Towre in *Lon-*

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don

don which at this present is called by his name *Lollards* Tower, where the faithfull that professed his Religion were imprisoned.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Waldenses that have been persecuted in England.

England hath been one of the first places that hath been honoured for receiuing the Gospell, for not long after that *Waldo* departed from *Lion*, there were many condemned to death as *Waldenses*, that is to say, eleuen yeeres after the disperſion of the *Waldenses* of the City of *Lion*. For *Waldo* departed out of *Lion*, in the yeere one thousand one hundred sixty three, and *Mathew Paris* reports, that the Monkes Inquisitors caused some of the *Waldenses* to be burnt in *England*, in the yeere 1174. And *John Bale* makes mention of a certaine man that was burnt at *London*, in the yeere 1210, that was charged with no other matter, then that hee professed the Religion of the *Waldenses*. *Thomas Walden* an *English* man hath writ, that in the time of *Henry* the second the *Waldenses* were grieuouſly persecuted, and that they were called Publicans: And as for those in whom they found not cause enough to condemne vnto death, they marked them in forehead with a burning key, to the end they might be knowne of euery man. This beliefe of the *Waldenses* was better known in the time of the wars against the *Albigenses*, inſomuch that (as *le Sieur de la Popeliniere*

1163.
Math. Paris in
his History of
England, the
ſaid yeere.

1174.

1210.
John Bale in
the Chroni-
cles of *Lon-*
don.

Thomas Walden
in his ſixt vo-
lume of thing
ſacramentall
tit. 12. chap. 10

Popeliniere hath well obſerued) the proximity of the lands and poſſeſſions of the Earle *Remond* of *Tholonze*, with *Guienne*, then poſſeſſed by the *English*, and the aliance of the King of *England*, brother in law of the ſaid *Remond*, made the way more eaſie to the *English*, not onely to ſuccour one another in their wars, but alſo to take knowledge of the beliefe of the ſaid *Albigenses*, which was no other but that of the *Waldenses*, to the end that they might ſupport them, though the violence were vniuſt and extreme againſt thoſe whom the *English* were many times conſtrained to defend againſt thoſe who vnder the pretence of Religion, inuaded his lands. Frier *Rainard Lollard* was then the moſt powerfull inſtrument, which God vſed by exhortations, and ſound reaſons, to giue knowledge to the *English* of the doctrine, for which the *Waldenses* were deliuered to death. This doctrine was receiued by *Wicklif*, as it is noted in the Booke of the Beginning and confeſſion of the Churches of *Bohemia*, who thereby obtained much helpe for the increaſe of his knowledge in the truth. He was a renowned Theologian in the Vniuerſity of *Oxford*, and parſon of the pariſh of *Luterworth*, in the Dioceſſe of *Lincolne*; an eloquent man, and profound Scholler. He won the hearts of many *English*, euen of moſt honorable of the land, as the Duke of *Lancaſter* vnle to King *Richard*, *Henry Percy*, *Lewes Gifford*, and the Chancellor the Earle of *Salisbury*. By the fauour of of theſe great perſonages, the doctrine of the *Waldenses*, or of *Wicklif* tooke footing, and had free paſſage in *England*, vntill *Gregory* the eleuenth persecuted thoſe that receiued it with allowance, by meanes of

La Popeliniere
in his History
of France l. 1.

R 13

his

his Monkes the Inquisitors; the fiers being kindled in *England* for many yeeres, to stay the course thereof: but it was all in vaine, for it hath been maintained there maugre Antichrist, vntill his yoke was wholly shaken off. True it is, that the bones of *Wicklif* were dis-interred aboue thirty yeeres after his death, and condemned to be burnt, with such bookes as his aduersaries could recouer; but he had before enlightened so great a number, that it was beyond the power of his enemies altogether to depriue the Church of them. Forby how much the more they indeauoured to hinder the reading and knowledge of them by horrible threats, and death it selfe, the more were the affections of many sharpened to reade them with greater ardeney: It is likewise said, that a certaine Scholler hauing carried into *Bohemia* one of the bookes of the said *Wicklif*, intituled His Vniuersals, and deliuering it to *John Hus*, he gathered that knowledge from it, that made him admirable in *Bohemia*, and edified all those, who together with him, did very willingly free themselves from the seruile yoke of the Church of *Rome*. From hence it was said to the *Husites*, that *Wicklif* had awakened their *John Hus*. This *Wicklif* writ aboue a hundred volumes against Antichrist or the Church of *Rome*, the Catalogue whereof is in the booke of the Images of famous men, that haue combated with Antichrist.

Lib. de Origine
& Confes. B. ccl.
Bohemia.
Wiclifus a Wal-
densibus adiu-
tus Hussinum
nosstrum excita-
uit. p. 264.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Waldenses that did flie into Flanders, and were there persecuted.

After the great persecution of the Waldenses in the time of *Phillip* the faire, Historiographers make mention of their repaire into *Flanders*, whether he pursued them, and caused a great number to bee burnt.

And because they were constrained to retire themselves into the woods, to flie from those that pursued them, they were called *Turlupins*, that is, dwellers with wolues, as you haue heard before in that Chapter, where we haue shewed what names were giuen vnto them.

Mathew Paris saith, that a certaine Iacobin Monke, named *Robert Bougre*, had liued amongst the Waldenses, making profession of their Religion, but hauing afterwards forsaken them, became a Monke, and a very violent persecuter, in such sort, that he caused many to be burnt in *Flanders*. Now his owne friends hauing taken knowledge, that he much abused the power and authority of his office, laying to their charge many things whereof they were innocent, and executing his authority against many that were altogether ignorant of the beliefe of the Waldenses, he was not only depriued of the office of an Inquisitor, but cast into prison, and being conuicted of diuers crimes, was condemned to perpetuall prison.

S. Aldeg. in his
1. Table of the
diff. fol. 149.
John Dabrynius
in the History
of Bohemia.
lib. 14.

See before
L. c. 1.

Math. Paris in
the life of
Henry 3.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the *Waldenses* that were persecuted in
Poland.

ABout the yeere of our Lord 1330, there were many that made profession of the Religion of the *Waldenses* in the Kingdom of *Poland*. The Bishops had recourse to the meanes established by the Pope, that is to say, the Inquisition, whereby they deliuer many of them into the hands of the executioner. The Author of the Catalogue of the witnesses of the truth hath written, that he hath lying by him, the forme of the Inquisition, which the Inquisitors made vse off in this persecution.

*Flac. lib. in his
Catol. of the
wit. pa. 539.*

*Vignier in his
Biblio. pa. 130.
In his History
lib. I.*

Vignier saith, that at their departure out of *Picardy*, many of them that were persecuted there, retired themselves into *Poland*.

Le Sieur de Popeliniere hath set downe in his History, that the Religion of the *Waldenses* hath spread it selfe almost into all parts of *Europe*, enen amongst the *Poles*, and *Lutherans*; and that after the yeer one thousand one hundred, they haue alwayes sowed their doctrine, little differing from that of the moderne Protestants, and maugre all the powers and Potentates that haue opposed themselves against them, they haue defended it to this day.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

That many *Waldenses* haue been persecuted
at *Paris*.

IN the yeer 1210, foure and twenty *Waldenses* were apprehended at *Paris*, where of some were imprisoned & some burnt. It happened also, that during the one & twentieth schisme, and during the time of Pope *John*, the one and twentieth of that name, the persecution was great throughout all *France*, against the *Waldenses*, but especially at *Paris*.

Againe in the yeere 1304, the Monkes Inquisitors, appointed for the search of the *Waldenses*, apprehended at *Paris* a hundred and fourteene, who were burnt aliue, and endured the fire with admirable constancy.

We find also in the Sea of Histories, that in the yeere 1378, the persecution continuing against the *Waldenses*, there were burnt at *Paris* in the place de *Greue* a very great number

1210.
The history of
Languedoc. l.
Forier. fol. 7.

1304.
I. Tab. pa. 152.

1378
The Sea of
histories in
the yeere
1378.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the *Waldenses* inhabiting in *Italy*; and the persecutions which we can proue, they haue there suffered.

IN the yeere 1229 the *Waldenses* were spread abroad in great numbers throughout *Italy*. *Valcamonica* onely they had Schooles, and from all parts of their abode they sent money into *Lombardy* for the maintenance of the said
Sf Schooles.

1229
Sigonius de
regno Italico
lib. 17.

Vignier in the
3 part of his
Bibl. hist.
Rain. in Summa
fol. 18.

2250

1280

Le Sieur de
Hail in the
Life of Phil. 3.

1492

It appeares by
the inditement
of the said
Pastor, the or-
iginal whereof
is in our hands

Genoa.

Vignaux in
his memorials
fol. 15.

Chap. 7.

In the constitu-
tion which be-
gins Inconsti-
tutionem

Schooles. *Rainerius* saith, that about the yeere of our Lord, one thousand two hundred fifty, the *Waldenses* had Churches in *Albania*, *Lombardy*, *Milan*, and in *Romagina*; as also at *Vincence*, *Florence*, and *Val Spoletine*. In the yeere of our Lord 1280, there were many *Waldenses* in *Sicile*, as *le Sieur de Haillan* obserueth in his History.

In the yeere 1492, *Albert de Capifaneis* Inquisitor and Arch-deacon of *Cremona*, apprehended one of the Pastors of the *Waldenses*, named *Peter de Iacob*, passing ouer a mountaine in *Dauphine* called *le Col de Costeplane*, as he was going to *Pragela* in the Valley of *Frasinières*. Being asked from whence he came, he answered, that he came from the Churches of the *Waldenses* in *Italy*, where he had been to performe his duty to his charge, and that he had passed by *Gennes*, where he told them, that the *Waldensian* Pastors had a house of their owne, which agreeth with that which *Vignaux* noteth in his Memorials. That is, that a certaine Pastor, named *John* of the Valley of *Lucerna*, was suspended from the office of a Pastor, for the space of seuen yeeres, for some fault he had committed, and that during the said time, he remained at *Gennes*, where (saith he) the Pastors had a house, as also they had a faire one in *Florence*. Besides all these testimonies of the abode of the *Waldenses* in *Italy*, we haue those of *Calabria*, of whom there was question before. The persecutions that they haue suffered in *Italy* were continuall, vntill they were wholly rooted out. The Emperour *Frederic* the second of that name, did grieuouly persecute them by Edicts, by the Inquisition, by constitutions, especially by that which condemneth *Gazaros*, *Patarenos*, *Leonistas*, *Speronistas*, *Arnoldistas*.

stas, &c. where he bewailes the simplicity of those whom he calleth *Patareniens*, as if he should say, exposed to passions and sufferings, in that they prodigally yeelded their liues to contempt, affecting martirdome; whereas if they would peaceably maintaine the faith of the Church of *Rome*, they might (saith he) liue peaceably amongst other men, who acknowledge her to be their mother, and the head of all the Churches in the world. It was his pleasure that they should be seuerely and speedily punished, for feare lest they should farther spread themselves, seeing also that they had begun to inhabit in *Lombardie*, and within his Realme of *Sicile*, where he commanded they should be persecuted with all rigour, to the end they might be driven out from thence, and the whole world together.

Roger King of *Sicile*, made also constitutions against them, and caused them to be persecuted.

Pope *Gregory* the 9. did grieuouly persecute them. A Legat of his, banished them out of all *Italy* Citties, and Countries, and gaue command that their houses should be razed. He appointed in the City of *Milan* two Preachers, who by the authority of the Arch-bishop, made a strict enquiry of the *Waldenses*, and where they could apprehend any, they caused them to be brought by the Pretor, to the place where the Arch-bishop had appointed, and that at the publike charge.

Pope *Honorius* caused them to be grieuouly persecuted vnder the name of *Fratricelli*, that is to say, shifting companions: for some doe hold, that as many as were so called in *Italy*, were no other but *Waldenses*. In the time of *Boniface* 8, they were charged with the

*Signonius de
regno Italico
li. 17.*

Sf 2

same

same calumnies, as the *Waldenses* of *Dauphine*, and the Christians of the primitive Church. The Monkes Inquisitors haue alwaies made in *Italy* an exact search, that they might deliuer them to the secular power; and not being content to condemne the liuing, they framed indictments against the dead; dis-interred their bodies, burnt their bones, and confiscated their goods.

Paul Emilius
Charles the
faire,

Paulus Emilius speaks thus of these shifting fellows. In the time of *Charles le Bel* (saith he) there were many great spirits and men very learned. That age flourished in learning, and some there were that were truly holy; others who endeaouring vnseasonably, and without measure to out-strip others, became wicked; others whose manners and institutions were doubtfull; as for the best and holiest, the wicked of those times bare them a grudge, afflicting them, not speaking a word, or telling them wherefore: And as for those whom they called *Fraterculus*, Shifters, the Preachers condemned them, both by word and writing, *cest escarlotte, ces biens, ceste domination*, and taught, that they agreed not with the Religion of Christ. They were said to be of the same beliefe with the *Waldenses*, because such was their doctrine.

I vnderstand
the words but
not the sence,

See the Sea of
histories in
the yeer 1300.

One amongst the rest, named *Herman*, being buried at *Ferrara*, was condemned twenty yeeres after his death to bee dis-interred, and his bones to be burnt, notwithstanding that whilest hee liued, hee were accounted a holy man. Also there was another named *Andrew*, and his wife *Guillaume*, that were dis-interred, and their bones burnt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

That some of the *Waldenses* did flie into *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, *Sclauonia*, *Constantinople*, *Grecia*, *Philadelphia*, *Digonicia*, *Linonia*, *Sarmatia*, *Bulgaria*, and were there persecuted.



He Monke *Rainerius* in his booke of the forme of proceeding against the Hereticks, in that Catalogue that he made of the Churches of the *Waldenses*, or poore people of *Lion*, notes that there were in his time, that is to say, in the yeere 1250, Churches in *Constantinople*, *Philadelphia*, *Sclauonia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Digonicia*.

Rain. de for-
ma hereticadi.
fol. 10.

1250.

Vignier saith, that after the persecution of *Picardie*, were disperfed abroad in *Linonia* and *Sarmatia*.

Vignier in his 3
part of his
historiall Bib.
pa. 130.
Math. Paris in
the life of
Hen. 6 king
of England.

Math. Paris saith, that long since they were gone as far as *Croatia*, and *Dalmatia*, and that they had there taken such footing, that they had won vnto them diuers Bishops: He saith moreouer, that there was one *Barthelmew*, who came from *Carcaffonne*, vnto whom they all yeelded obedience. And that he stiled himselfe in his Letters, *Barthelmew*, the seruant of the seruants of the holy faith, and that he created Bishops, and ordained Churches. Here may be some imposture, in that he attributeth to his owne person, that which is attributeth to the Pope, that is, that he called himselfe the seruant of the seruants, and yet neuerthelesse had taken vpon him a kind of Soueraingty, contrary to the order enioyned by the Sonne of God, and followed, and pra-

St 3

ctified

Albert. de Cap.
lib. de origine
Waldensium.
p. 1.

stified by his Apostles. As also in that *Albertus de Capitaneis* saith, that the *Waldenses* had their great Master in the City of *Aquillia* in the Realme of *Naples*, vpon whom they absolutely depended. For there is not one word in all their writings, that aimes at that end: Only we alleage the saying of this Historiographer, to proue the extent of those places, where the *Waldenses* exiled themselues, to auoid the persecution.

Antonin. part.
3 Tit. 2.

Antonin relateth, that the *Waldenses* called in *Italy* *Fraticelli*, were in his time burnt in diuers parts of the world, inso much that many of them forsaking *Italy*, retired themselues into *Greece*, especially one amongst them of principall note, named *Lewis de Baniere*, and that two Monkes or grey Friers were burnt for adhering vnto them, that is to say, *John Chastillon*, and *Francis de Hercatura*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Waldenses inhabiting in Spaine, and that they were there persecuted.

Matb. Paris in
the raigne of
Henry 3.

1214.

IN the time of the warres against the Earle *Remond of Toulouze*, and the Earle *de Foix*, and comming when the *Waldenses* were persecuted by the Popes Legates, many of them went into *Catalogne*, and the Realm of *Aragon*. This is that which *Matb. Paris* sets down, saying, that the time of Pope *Gregory* the 9, there were a great number of *Waldenses* in *Spaine*, & about the yeer 1214, in the time of *Alexander* the fourth, who complained in one of his Bulles, that they had bin suffered to take such footing

ting, & that they should haue so much leasure as to multiply as they had done. For in the time of *Gregory* the 9, they so far forth increased in number and credit, that they ordained Bishops ouer their flockes, to preach their doctrine, which the other Bishops taking notice off, there followed a grieuous persecution.

CHAP. XIX.

The Conclusion of the History of the Waldenses.

IN that which is contained in this first and second Booke, it appeareth that the Christians called *Waldenses*, haue opposed themselues against the abuses of the Church of *Rome*, and for these foure hundred and fifty yeeres and yward, they haue been persecuted, not by the sword of the word of God, but by all kind of violence and cruelties, besides many calumnies and false accusations. Which inforced them to disperse themselues here and there, where they could haue any abiding, wandring through desert places, and yet neuertheles, the Lord hath in such sort preserved the remainder of them, that notwithstanding the rage of Satan, they haue continued inuincible against Antichrist, to whom they haue offered a spirituall combat, destroying him by the blast of the spirit of God. Crying with a loud voice, not onely throughout all *Europe*, but in many other parts of the earth, that it was time to depart out of *Babylon*, lest wee participate of her plagues. This is the people that haue enforced themselues

selues to re-establish the true and pure seruice of God, by the power of his word, a contemptible people, euen as the filth of the world, by whom neuertheless the eternall God, hath wrought wonderfull things, restoring and re-establishing by them his Church: First in France, afterwards, as it were from a new *Sion*, causing the riuers of his holy Law, and pure doctrine to distill and drop downe vpon the rest of the world, gathering together his elect, by the preaching of his holy Gospell. And that which is most admirable in this so great a worke is, that the doctrine which they haue beleueed and preached, hath been likewise miraculously preserved amongst them, in the middle of all their grievous and continuall persecutions, which they haue suffered for righteousness sake: As it is also worthy admiration, that their aduersaries haue kept a register of the euils, which they haue caused them vniuersally to suffer. It hath been their glory that they haue shed that blood, that crieth for vengeance; exiled the Church for a limited time in the wilderness, and made knowne by their Histories, that the Dragon hath done but that which was granted vnto him, that is, to make warre against the Saints: but being deliuered from their great tribulation, and their robes whitened in the blood of the Lamb, they haue been conducted to the liuing fountaines of water, and God hath wiped all teares from their eies.

LAVS DEO.

Reuelation 21. 7.

He that ouercometh, shall inherit all things;

and I will be his God, and he shall be my sonne.

F I N I S.



Part THE two
FIRST BOOKE OF
THE HISTORY OF
THE ALBINGENSES.

CHAP. I.

Who the Albingenses were, what their beleefe, who were comprehended vnder the name of Albingenses, at what time and by whom they haue beene instructed, in what esteeme their Pastors haue beene, by whom and in what Councell condemned, how they haue increased, what Cities and great Lords haue taken their part: For what doctrine the Papists haue hated them and persecuted them to the death.



He Albingenses, which we are to speake of in this History, differ nothing at all from the Waldenses, in their beleefe: but they are onely so called of the Countrey of *Albi*, where they dwelt, and had their first beginning. The Popes haue condemned them as *Waldenses*; the Legates haue made

A a a

warre

Jaques de Rib-
beria, in Col-
lectionis urbis
Tolozæ.

warre against them, as professing the beleefe of the *Waldenses*; the Monkes Inquisitors, have formed their Proces and Indictments as against *Waldenses*: The people have persecuted them, as being such, and themselves have thought themselves honored by that title, vpon the assured knowledge that they had of the puritie of their doctrine, being the selfesame with the *Waldenses*: In respect whereof, many Historiographers call them *Waldenses*. Wee therefore will distinguish them, not by their beleefe, but by the places of their abode, and by the particular warres which they have endured for the space of aboue fittie yeeres. Vnder this name, wee comprehend all the subiects of the Earles *Remonds* of *Toulouze*, father and sonne, and the subiects of the Earles of *Foix* and *Comminge*, and all those that haue taken part with them, that haue fought for their Religion, and suffered the selfesame persecutions.

They received the beleefe of the *Waldenses*, a little after the departure of *Waldo* from *Lion*: The instruments that were employed in this worke, were *Peter Buis*, one *Henry*, one *Ioseph*, one *Esperon* and *Arnold Hott*; of whom they were afterward called *Pierrebrusiens*, or *Petrobrusiens*, *Henriciens*, *Iosephists*, *Esperonists*, and *Arnoldists*: but aboue all the rest, *Henry* and *Arnold* travelled in the Countrey of *Albi*, and that with so good successe, that in a short time there were found but a few, and in some places not any, that would goe any more to Masse, affirming that the sacrifice of the Masse was onely inuented to enrich the Priests, and to make them to be more esteemed in the world, as making the Body of Christ by their words, and sacrificing him to God the Father for the sinnes of the living and

and of the dead; which was an impietie, destroying the sacrifice of the Sonne of God, and annihilating the merit of his death and passion. There were many that gaue care to their reasons in the diocese of *Rhodes*, *Cahors*, *Agen*, *Toulouze* and *Narbonne*, because the Doctors that taught amongst the *Waldenses* were learned men, conuersant in the reading of the holy Scriptures, whereas on the other side the Priests, who studied nothing more than the sacrifices of the Masse, and how to receiue their oblations for the dead, were altogether ignorant, and therefore contemned of the people.

Pope *Alexander* the third, being much moued with anger because he saw many great Prouinces to shake off the yoke of the Romish Church, and to dispence with their obedience; condemned them for Heretikes in the Councell of *Latran*.

Neuerthelesse, they were in such a manner multiplied, that in the yeere 1200. they possessed the Cities of *Toulouze*, *Apanies*, *Montauban*, *Villemer*, *Saint Antonin*, *Puech Laurence*, *Castres*, *Lambs*, *Carcassanne*, *Beziers*, *Narbonne*, *Beaucaire*, *Auignon*, *Tarascon*, the Count *Venecin*; and in *Dauphine* *Crest*, *Arnaud* and *Manteil-Amar*.

And which is more, they had many great Lords, who tooke part with them, that is to say, the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*, *Remond* Earle of *Foix*, the Vicount of *Beziers*, *Gaston* Lord of *Bearne*, the Earle of *Carmain*, the Earle of *Bigorre*, the Lady of *Lanau*, and diuers others, of whom we shall make mention in their due place. And besides all these, the Kings of *Aragon* and of *England*, haue many times defended their cause, by reason of that alliance that they had with the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*.

Jaques de Rib-
beria in his col-
lections of the
Citic of Tou-
louze.

Claud. de Rubie
in his History
of the Citic of
Lion. Lib. 3. p. 269.

1200.

Hologaray in
his History of
Foix.

The doctrines that they maintained against the Church of *Rome*, were these:

1 That the Romish Church is not the holy Church and Spouse of Christ, but a Church watered with the Doctrine of Devils; That *Babylon* which Saint *Iohn* hath described in the *Apocalypse*, the mother of fornications and abominations, couered with the bloud of Saints.

2 That the Masse was not instituted by Christ, nor by his Apostles, but that it is the inuention of men.

3 That the prayers of the liuing profit not the dead.

4 That Purgatorie maintained in the Church of *Rome*, was a humane inuention, to glut and satisfie the couetousnesse of the Priests.

5 That Saints are not to be praied vnto.

6 That Transubstantiation is the inuention of men, and an erroneous doctrine: And that the adoration of the Bread is a manifest Idolatry.

And that therefore they were to forsake the Church of *Rome*, wherein the contrary was affirmed and taught, because a man may not bee present at the Masses, where Idolatry is practised, nor attaine saluation by any other meanes, than by Iesus Christ, nor transference vnto the creatures the honor that is due to the Creator, nor say of the Bread, that it is God, and adore it, as being God, without the incurring of eternall damnation, for Idolaters shall not inherit the Kingdome of Heauen.

For all these things affirmed by them, they haue beene hated and persecuted to the death.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Pope Innocent the third of that name, made shew of a desire to winne the Albingerse to the Church of Rome, by preaching and conference. A famous disputation at Montreal. To what end the Pope permitted disputation in matter of Religion.



Pope Innocent the third of that name, seemed to be carried with a desire to reduce the Albingerse vnto the Church of Rome, by preachings and reasons, or to oppresse them and vterly root them out, by violence of armes, and by crueltie of punishments.

But before he would come to extremities, he thought it necessary, for the better iustification of his proceedings, to begin with words, and afterwards to come to blowes. Hee sent therefore amongst them certaine Preachers, who endeuoured to draw them by gentle perswasions.

See here how the Compiler of the treasure of Histories speakes of those times. When there came newes (saith he) to *Pope Innocent the third*, that in his Prouince of *Narbonne*, the traitorous Heresie was spread abroad, not onely amongst the poore, but Earles, Barons and Knights; he sent the Abbot of *Cisteaux*, and two Monkes with him, to preach against those disloyall buggerers. When they had travelled some little way, preaching throughout the Countrey, they came to *Mompelier*, where they met with a worthy man that was Bishop of *Cestre*. This honest man, asked the Abbot of *Cisteaux*, what hee

The Comp.
of the Treas-
ure of Histo-
ries in the
yeere 1106.

Aaa 3.

did

" did there. He answered that the Pope had sent him
 " thither, against those Sodomites, but that he could
 " not conuert them. This good man was nothing a-
 " stonied at it, but he still maintained the worke of the
 " Lord valiantly, and went on foot to giue good ex-
 " ample to others, and they stayed and went on foot
 " with him. Afterwards the Abbot returned to the
 " Chapter, or generall assembly, but the Bishop and
 " the two Monkes, passing a long time through the
 " Countrey and preaching, they conuerted many of
 " the meaner sort of people, but of the great ones and
 " richer sort, there were few or none, that returned to
 " the true faith.

" The Abbot came backe into the Countrey, and
 " brought with him another Abbot, and diuers
 " Monkes, and came all on foot; whereupon the Bi-
 " shop of *Cestre* began to thinke with him selfe how to
 " returne into his Countrey; but dyed by the way.

" The Monkes who preached throughout the
 " Countrey, found the Princes so obdurate in their
 " malice, that they resolved to stay no longer there,
 " but returned into their Countries, except one good
 " man, who was called Frier *Peter* of *Chasteauneuf*,
 " who continued preaching with one of his com-
 " panions.

When the *Albigeneses* knew the intention of the
 Pope, which was, to pretend that he was not the cause,
 why they whom he iudged to be wanderers, did not
 returne to the bosome of the Church of *Rome* by gen-
 tle meanes, and force of reason, they began to thinke
 that it stood them vpon to maintaine their beleefe by
 such conference, otherwise they should giue occasion
 to the aduersaries to thinke, that there was in their Re-
 ligion

ligion some weaknesse, if there were not any Pastor
 that would take vpon him the defence thereof. It was
 therefore concluded amongst the *Albigeneses*, to giue
 the Bishops to vnderstand, that their Pastors, or any
 one of them for the rest, were ready to maintaine
 their beleefe by the word of God, provided that the
 conference were well ordered and moderated; that
 is to say, that there may be moderators, that are men
 of authoritie, both on the one side and the other, that
 may haue wherewithall to hinder all tumult and sedi-
 tion. Provided also, that it be in a place, vnto which
 there may be free acceffe, and the place secured for all
 persons that may assist, or be present at the said con-
 ference. Moreover, that there bee some matter or
 subiect chosen by common consent, not to bee giuen
 ouer before it be determined; and that he that cannot
 defend it by the word of God, is to bee reputed and
 held to be vanquished.

The Bishops and Monkes did all allow of the said
 conditions. The place was *Montreal*, neere *Carcasonne*,
 the time, in the yeere one thousand two hundred and
 six. The Arbitrators agreed vpon by the one part and
 the other, *B. de Villeneuve*, and *B. Auxerre* for the Bi-
 shops: and for the *Albigeneses*, *R. de Bot*, and *Antony*
Riniere.

Arnold Hott was the Pastor for the *Albigeneses*, ac-
 companied with those that were accounted fit for such
 an action: He was the first that arrived at the place and
 day assigned: Afterwards came the Bishop *Ensus*, and
 the Monke *Dominique* a *Spaniard*, with two of the
 Popes Legats, that is to say, *Peter Chastel* and *Racul de*
Iust, Abbot of *Candets*, *P. Bertrand* Prior of *Anterieue*:
 as also the Prior of *Palats*, and diuers other Priests
 and Monkes.

This disputa-
 tion was the
 most famous,
 that hath bin
 betweene the
Albigeneses,
 & the Bishops
 and Priests.

Chassagnon ma-
 keth mention
 in his first
 booke of the
 History of the
Albigeneses
 pag. 72.

Also *Iaques de*
Fiberian in his
 collect of the
 Citie of Tou-
 louze.

This disputation was sent me from the Albingenses, by Mr. *Rafin* Pastor of the Church of Realmont in old Manuscripts.

The Theses or generall questions proposed by *Arnold*, were these: That the Masse, with the Transubstantiation, was the inuention of men, not the ordinance of Christ, nor his Apostles.

That the Romish Church is not the Spouse of Christ, but the Church of tumult and molestation, made drunken with the blood of Martyrs.

That the policie of the Church of *Rome*, is neither good, nor holy, nor established by Iesus Christ.

Arnold sent these Propositions to the Bishop, who demanded a respite of fifteene dayes to answer, which was granted him. At the day appointed, the Bishop failed not to appeare, with a long and large writing. *Arnold* *Hott* desired to bee heard by word of mouth, saying: That he would answer to all that was contained in the said writing, intreating his auditors that it might not be troublesome vnto them, if he were long in answering to so long a discourse. It was granted that he should bee heard with attention and patience, and without interruption. He discoursed at diuers houres, for foure dayes together, and with such admiration of those that were present, and readinesse for his part, that all the Bishops, Abbots, Monkes and Priests had reason to desire they had beene elsewhere. For he framed his answer according to the points set downe in the said writing, with such order and plainnesse, that hee gaue all that were present to vnderstand, that the Bishop hauing written much, had neuertheless concluded nothing, that might truly turne to the aduantage of the Church of *Rome* against his Propositions.

Afterwards *Arnold* made a request, that forasmuch as the Bishops and himselfe in the beginning of their conference, were bound to proue whatsoever they

affir-

affirmed by the onely word of God, it might bee imposed vpon the Bishops and Priests, to make good their Masse, such as they sing it, part by part, to haue beene instituted by the Sonne of God, and sung in the like manner by his Apostles, beginning at the entrance, vnto the *Ite Missa est*, as they terme it: but the Bishops were not able to proue, that the Masse or any part thereof, was ordained in such an action, either by Iesus Christ, or his Apostles. With this the Bishops were much discontented and ashamed. For *Arnold* had brought them to the onely Canon, which they pretended to be the best part of their Masse, touching which point he proued, That the holy Supper of our Lord was not the Masse. For if the Masse were the holy Supper instituted by our Saviour, there would remaine after the Consecration all that which was in the Supper of the Lord, that is to say, Bread: but in the Masse there is no bread; for by Transubstantiation the bread is vanished away; therefore the Masse (saith he) without bread, is not the holy Supper of the Lord, for there is bread.

Iesus Christ brake bread, } The Priest breakes the body
S^t. *Paul* brake the bread, } not the bread.

Therefore the Priest doth not that which Christ Iesus hath done, and S^t. *Paul*.

Vpon these Antitheses which *Arnold* made touching the Supper of the Lord, and the Masse, to proue that it came not from Christ nor his Apostles, the Monkes, Bishops, Legats and Priests retired themselves, not being willing to heare any more, and fearing lest they should worke such an impression in those that were present, as might shake their beleefe touching the Masse.

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The Monke
of the Valley
Seruay, in his
Hist. of the
Albing. chap. 5.

The Monke of the Valley *Seruay*, endeoureth to bring this action into suspicion, affirming that at what time the Hereticall Iudges exceeded in number, seeing the badnesse of their cause, and the wretchednesse of their disputation, they would not (saith hee) giue any iudgement thereof, nor deliuer their writings to their aduersaries, for feare lest they should come to light, and render to the Heretikes their owne. But how should two Legats of the Pope, the Bishops, Abbots, Monkes and Priests, put themselues into any such place, where they could bee thus ouercharged with number? This Monke saith in the same place, that the principall Arch-heretikes came to the Catholikes at the Castle of *Montreal*, to dispute with them. So that they held then the Castle, and therefore there was no occasion of doubt, or any such violence. And furthermore, how could it be that the Bishops should request the moderators to giue iudgement in a point of disputation, when they hold that there needs no other sentence than the Popes, who cannot erre? Againe, how did the Monke know that the *Albingenses* were overcome, if there were no iudgement or sentence giuen against them? There were, about the sametime, many other disputations, as at *Serignan*, *Pannies*, but this was onely to delay the *Albingenses* from further proceeding. For in the meane time whilst the Bishop of *Toulouze*, and the Bishop of *Onezimonde* disputed at *Pannies*, and the Popes two Legats, with *Arnold* at *Montreal*, B. of *Villeneuve*, Arbitrator and Moderator for the Bishops, signified, That there could bee nothing determined or agreed vpon, by reason of the coming of those Armies that were to fight vnder the badge of the Crosse. This was the subtiltie of the Pope

Pope, to entertaine them in conferences touching matter of Religion, that in the meane time he might prepare great Armies, to roote out (if hee could) both themselues and their Religion.

Hilagay in
his Hist. of
Foix, p. 116.

CHAP. III.

The end of the disputation touching Religion, it was not long continued by the Pope and his Legats. The presence of the Pope to publish the expedition against the *Albingenses*. The Earle Remond humbleth himselfe before the Popes Legat, he is whipped by the Legat, and deprived of his Earledome of *Venesin* by the Pope, hee is made chiefe Leader of the Armie of those that fought vnder the badge of the Crosse, at the siege of *Beziers*.



Now when Pope *Innocent* had prepared his Armies of the Crosse, and had dispersed them here and there about the Countries of the *Albingenses*, there were no longer any disputations, except it were with Fire and Faggots, the chiefe disputers being the Executioners, and the Monkes Inquisitors, the Harpies or rauenous birds, which the Pope made vse of, for the extirpation of the *Albingenses*. The pretence of this so famous an expedition was made against the Earle Remond of *Toulouze*, about the death of a certaine *Iacobin* Monke, who was slaine by the *Albingenses*: For the Pope tooke from thence occasion to send throughout all *Europe* Preachers to assemble men together, to take vengeance of the innocent blood of Frier *Peter de Castauneuf*, who had beene slaine by the Heretikes, promising Paradice to whomsoever would

So rearmed
because euery
one that vnder-
taketh the
journey, weares on his
Cassocke or
Coate-armour, the
badge of the
Crosse.

A Bull giuen
at Latran in
the year 1208.

come to this warre and beare armes for fortie daies. This warre he called the holy warre, and for which he gaue the selfe-same Pardons, the selfe-same Indulgences, as he did vnto those who went to the warres of the holy Land, for the conquest thereof. He likewise termed it, the warre for the Crucifixe, and the Army of the Church. And as for the Earle *Remond*, heare with what termes he thundered against him in his Bull. We ordaine (saith hee) that all Archbishops and Bishops, are to denounce, throughout all their Dioces, the Earle *Remond* accursed and excommunicated, as being murderer of a good seruant of God, and that with the sound of the Bell, and the extinction of Candles, every Sunday and Festiuall daies. Wee promise moreover to all those that shall take armes, to reuenge the said murder, forgiuenesse of their sinnes, seeing that these pestilent *Long Slaps* seeke nothing else but to take away our liues. And forasmuch as according to the Law of the holy Canons, faith is not to be kept to him that keepes not his faith to God, we would haue all to vnderstand, that every man that is bound to the said Earle by oath of fidelitie, societie, alliance, or otherwaies, by the Apostolicall authoritie, is absolved from any such bands; and it shal bee lawfull for every Catholike man, not onely to pursue the person of the said Earle, but also to hold and possesse his land, &c.

*And as touching the Albingenses, see
how hee handleth them.*

Wee therefore admonish you more carefully, and exhort you more speedily, as being a matter of great necessitie, &c. That yee endeavour to vnderstand by all the meanes that God shall reueale vnto you, and studie

to

to abolish the Hereticall prauitie and these Sectaries, and that more seuerely then the *Saracines*, impugning them with a strong hand, and a stretched-out arme, as being worse than they, &c. Dringing them out of the field of the Lord, taking from them their lands and liuings, in which (the Heretikes being banished) let Catholike inhabitants be substituted in their roome.

The Pope writ to all Christian Princes to frame themselves for the obtaining of that pardon against the *Albingenses*, that they obtained, if they passed beyond the Seas against the *Turkes*; and particularly the author of the Treasure of Histories saith, That the Pope intreated King *Philip* and diuers Barons, that they would vndertake with him that enterprise against the Heretikes, and get their pardons: And that the King answered that hee was to bee excused, by reason of his warres with the Emperour *Otho*, and King *John* of England. Of the Barons (saith hee) there were many that yeelded to the enterprise, for their pardon.

The Earle *Remond*, being aduertised what was plotted against him in Europe, at the instance of the Pope, sent vnto him, humbly beseeching him not to condemne him, before he had heard him speake, assuring him that he was no way culpable of the death of Frier *Peter de Castellanens*, and that it was sufficiently verified that the murderer was fled to *Beaucaire*: hee complained of the malice of his enemies, who had made false informations against him, touching the said murder: But all was in vaine, for before his excuses came to Rome, the troopes of the *Croises*, that is, those that beare the badge of the Crosse vpon their coat-armour, were come to powre downe their vengeance vpon him and his lands, that is to say, the Duke of *Burgundy*.

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the Earle of *Enneuers*, the Earle of *S^t. Paul*, the Earle of *Auxerre*, the Earle of *Geneua*, the Earle of *Poitiers*, the Earle of *Forests*, and the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort*. The Lord of *Bar*, *Ginchar* of *Beauieu*, and *Ganchier* of *Joigni*. As also the Ecclesiasticall persons, who had leuied in their Diocese a number of Pilgrims and wandering people; they were the Archbishop of *Sens*, the Archbishop of *Rouan*, the Bishop of *Clermond*, the Bishop of *Enneuers*, the Bishop of *Lizieux*, the Bishop of *Bayeux*, and the Bishop of *Chartres*, with diuers others; euery Bishop with the Pilgrims of his iurisdiction, to whom the Pope promised Paradice in Heauen, but gaue them not one peny vpon earth, onely hee did let them know, that in such a warre there were more blowes than pardons. This Leuy of Pilgrims or wandering persons, was in the yeere 1209. There was now a necessitie either of opposing violence against violence, or to come to submissions. The latter was thought the more easie, but yet dangerous. For to yeeld himselfe to the discretion of his enemies, was to bring himselfe into the danger of his owne ruine. The Count *Remond* therefore came to *Valence*, before the Popes Legat named *Milo*.

Pelicans.

1209.

Being entred the toile, he began to excuse himselfe, saying: That it seemed strange vnto him, that so great a number of men should come in armes against him, that vsed no other armes to defend himselfe, than his owne innocencie; that hee was much wronged by those that perswaded the people that hee was guiltie of the death of the Monke Frier *Peter* of *Casteaunef*; that before they had thus moued Heauen and Earth, as it were, they should haue enquired of the truth of the fact, and not condemne any before he were heard:

That

→ Hell rather

That he had there many witnessers of the death of the said Monke, slaine at *S^t. Giles*, by a certaine Gentleman, whom the said Monke pursued, who presently retired himselfe to his friends at *Beaucaire*: That this murder was very displeasing vnto him, and therefore he had done what lay in his power, to apprehend him, and to chastise him, but that hee escaped his hands: That had it beene true which they laid to his charge, that hee had embrewed his hands in that bloud, yet the ordinary courses of iustice were to be taken against him, and not to haue wrecked their anger vpon his subiects that were innocent in this case. And therefore (saith he) to the said Legat, forasmuch as vpon an assured trust and confidence, armed onely with the testimonie of a good Conscience, I am come to yeeld my selfe vnto your hands, what need is there any more of the imployment of these Pilgrims or wandering people, against him whom they had in their owne power? That it was promised him, that when his honestie should bee knowne, they that were in armes to fight against him, would defend him: And therefore he humbly intreated the said Legat, to send a Countermand to his Souldiers before they approached any further into his lands and territories, promising to iustifie himselfe of whatsoeuer was laid to his charge, in such a manner, that the Pope and the Church should rest contented: That his owne person might serue for a sufficient pledge for the performance of these his promises.

The Legat answered that the Earle *Remond* had done well in presenting himselfe before him, and informing him of his innocencie, whereof he would aduertise his Holinesse, and become an Intercessor for him; but yet the businesse was of such an importance, that he

he durst not rely onely vpon his owne knowledge, much lesse send backe his Souldiers of the Crosse, that had cost so much labour, and lost the gathering together, except hee would giue such assurances of his words, as might take away from the Pope and the Church, all shew or shadow that hee may hereafter deale falsely with them that put their trust in him. And therefore hee should nor thinke it a difficult matter to deliuer into his hands, seuen of the best Castles he had in *Prouence* (that is to say, in the Count *Venesin*, which was then annexed vnto *Prouence*) which should serue for an Hostage.

The Earle *Remond* knew well the error he had committed, by putting himselfe vnder the hatches, but it was too late to bee readuised, because the counsels which the Legat gaue him, were as commands. Hee knew himselfe to be a prisoner, and that hee must now receiue the Law of him, into whose power he had vnwisely cast himselfe; and therefore he made a shew of great willingnesse to obey to whatsoever was prescribed by the Legat, acknowledging that both his person and his possessions were at the seruice of his holy Father, onely beseeching the Legat, that his subjects might receiue no more damage by the Souldiers. The Legat promised all the fauour that hee desired in this regard, and presently sent to the Countie *Venesin*, Master *Theod.* Canon of *Gennes*, to put a Garison into the Castles and places of importance in the said Countie, and to giue commandement to all the Consuls of the Cities thereof, to make their repaire presently to the said Legat; before whom being come, they were giuen to vnderstand, that the Earle *Remond* had deliuered vp his Castles to the guard and power of the Pope,

The Monke
of the Valley
Seruay in his
History of the
Albin. cap. 11.
fol. 23.

Pope, for prooffe of his fidelitie to the Church, whereof they were to be aduertised, to the end likewise that they from thence forward, should acknowledge themselves to bee the lawfull subiects of his Holinesse, in case the said Earle *Remond* should doe any thing against the oath of obedience which hee had made to the Pope and to the Church of *Rome*, in which case, as already in those times they were discharged of all oaths of fidelitie giuen in times past to the said Earle, and his lands were confiscated to the Pope. The Consuls being much astonished to see their Lord thus stript of all his lands and possessions, could not refuse in the presence of himselfe, to doe whatsoever the said Legat required at their hands. But that which did afflict them most, was, that they saw the Earle *Remond* conducted to *S^c. Giles*, where he was reconciled to the Pope, and to the Church, with these ceremonies that follow. First, the Legat commanded the said Earle *Remond* to strip himselfe starke naked, without the Church of *S^c. Giles*, hauing onely to couer his nakednesse, a close paire of linnen breeches, the rest was all bare, head, feet, and shoulders. Then he put a Stole (which Priests weare about their necks) vpon his necke, and leading him by the said Stole, hee made him to goe nine times about the graue of the deceased Frier *Peter de Chateaufneuf*, who had beene buried in the said Church, scourging him with rods, which the Legat had in his hand, as long as hee went about the said Sepulcher. The Earle *Remond* demanded satisfaction for this extraordinary penance, for a sinne which he had not committed, for he had not killed the Monke: The Legat answered him, That notwithstanding hee had not killed him, nor caused him to be killed, yet forasmuch as this

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murder

Hilagavey in
his History of
Foix,

murder was committed, within his territories, and hee had made no pursuit after the murderer, this murder was deservedly imputed vnto him, and therefore that hee was to satisfie the Pope and the Church by this his humble repentance, if hee desired to be reconciled to the one and to the other. It was therefore necessary he should likewise bee scourged in the presence of the Earles, Barons, Marquises, Prelates, and all the people: He made him to sweare vpon the *Corpus Domini*, (as they call it) and certaine other reliques, which were brought thither for that purpose, that he should all his life time, bee obedient in all things to the Pope and the Church of *Rome*; and that he should make perpetuall, mortall and vnreconcilable warre against the *Albigeneses*, vntill they were either vtterly exterminated, or brought to the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, which to performe, hee hauing solemnly and perforce sworne, the Legat to honor him the more, and to bind him to doe what he had sworne, made him Captaine and Leader of the Souldiers of the Crosse, for the siege of *Beziere*: Which he did, to the end hee might driue the *Albigeneses* into despaire, euer to be defended by him, who hauing abiured their Religion, had now power and charge to persecute them.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

The perplexitie the Earle Remond was in, after his reconciliation: The siege of Beziere: The intercession of the Earle of Beziere for his Citie: The intercession of the Bishop availeth nothing: The taking of Beziere, what, and with what crueltie.

THe Earle *Remond* was much perplexed about that charge that was giuen him for the conducting of the Armie of the Souldiers of the Crosse before *Beziere*. For to carry himselfe as an enemy against the *Albigeneses*, was to doe against his conscience, and to fight against those whose part hee had taken vntill then, as a principall motiue and Captaine. This was to binde himselfe to the perpetuall seruitude of the Pope and his Legats. On the other side, if hee should goe about to flye, and to forsake the Armie, this were to furnish them with new matter of persecution; for in such a case they might iustly pursue him, as a perfidious, relapsed and periured person, and that if hee should bee apprehended, hee should bee in danger of loosing his life, goods and friends altogether: And yet doing that which the charge the Legat laid vpon him, bound him vnto, he must be an instrument of the losse of *Beziere*, and the totall destruction of the subiects of his Nephew the Earle of *Beziere*, and his Nephew himselfe. In this extremitie and anguish of spirit, hee chose rather to stay in the Armie for certaine daies, and afterward tooke his leaue of the Legat, and went to *Rome*, to humble himselfe before the Pope, which could not bee denied him. In the meane time they

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made an approach to the Citie of *Beziers*, the Rammes, Slings, Frames, Shedbords, and other engines of warre were provided to give a generall escalado, setting to the walls of the Citie so great a number of Ladders, that it was impossible to resist the furious assault which the *Pelerins* made with all the force and power that they had.

The Earle of *Beziers* went forth of the Citie, and cast himselfe downe at the feet of the Legat *Milon*, craving mercie for his Citie of *Beziers*, and humbly beseeching him not to inflict the same punishment vpon the innocent and the nocent, which without all doubt must needs come to passe, if *Beziers* should be taken by force (which was easie to be done by so great, and so puissant an Armie, such as was then ready to scale the walles in euery part of the said Citie) that there would be great effusion of bloud on both sides, which might be auoided: That there were within *Beziers* a great number of good Romish Catholikes that would be subiect to the same ruine, contrary to the intention of the Pope, whose desire was onely to chastise the *Albingenses*: That if it pleased him not to spare his subiects for the loue of themselues, that he would yet haue regard vnto him, to his age and profession, since the losse would light vpon himselfe, being in his minoritie, and a most obedient seruant to the Pope, as hauing beene brought vp in the Romish Church, and in which he would both liue and die. And if hee tooke it ill that such persons as were enemies to the Pope, had beene tolerated within his territories, it ought not to be imputed vnto him, because hee had no other subiects but those which his deceased father had left vnto him; and that in his minoritie, and after wards in that little time wherein

wherein he had beene master of his owne goods, hee could not as yet, by reason of his incapacitie know this euill, nor minister the remedy, though it were his purpose so to doe; but yet his hope was in time to come, to giue all contentment that might be, both to the Pope and Church of *Rome*, as an obedient sonne both of the one and of the other.

The answer of the Legat was, That all his excuses preuailed nothing, and that he must doe as he may.

Chaff. in his History of the Albingen. pag. 107.

The Earle of *Beziers* returned into the Citie, and assembled the people together, giuing them to vnderstand, that after he had submitted himselfe to the Legat, hee mediated for them, not being able to obtaine any other thing at his hands, but pardon, vpon condition that they that made profession of the beleefe of the *Albingenses*, should come and abiure their Religion, and promise to liue according to the Lawes of the Church of *Rome*.

The Romish Catholikes intreated them to yeeld to this so great a violence, and not to be the cause of their death, since the Legat was resolved not to pardon any, if they liued not all vnder one and the same Law.

The *Albingenses* answered, That they would not forsake their Religion for the base price of this fraile life; That they knew well that God was able to defend them, if it pleased him, and that if he would bee glorified by the confession of their faith, it should bee a great honour to them to die for righteousness sake; That they had rather displease the Pope, who could destroy their bodies onely, than God who could cast both body and soule into Hell fire: That they would neuer be ashamed, or deny that Religion, by which they haue beene taught to know Christ and his righteousness,

ousnesse, or with the danger of an eternall death, professe a Religion which doth annihilate the merit of Christ, and burieth his righteousnesse; and that therefore they would couenant for themselves as they could, and promise nothing contrary to the duty of true Christians.

This being vnderstood, the Romish Catholikes sent their Bishop to the Legat, humbly to intreat him, that he would not include in this chastisement of the *Albigeneses*, those that were alwayes obedient to the Church of *Rome*, of whom he that was their Bishop had certaine knowledge, being likewise assured that the rest were not altogether past hope of repentance, but that they might be wonne by gentle meanes, best besitting the Church, which tooke no pleasure in the effusion of blood.

The Legat herewith grew into extreme choller and passion, swearing and protesting with horrible threats, that if all they that were in the Citie did not acknowledge their fault, and submit themselves to the Church of *Rome*, they should all taste of one cup, and without respect of Catholike, sex, or age, they should all be exposed to fire and sword. And incontinently he commanded that the Citie should bee summoned to yeeld it selfe to his discretion; which they refusing to doe, hee caused all his engins of warre to play, and commanded an assault and generall escalado to bee made. Now it was impossible for those that were within, to resist so great a violence, in such sort, that being thus assaulted, by aboue a hundred thousand *Pelerins*, in the end (saith the Compiler of the Treasure of Histories) they within vere vanquished, and the enimie being entred slew a great multitude, and afterwards

The Treasure
of Hist. in the
taking of Be-
ziers.
Paul Æmil. pag.
317.

set fire to the Citie, and burnt it to dust.

The Citie being taken, the Priests, Monkes, and Clerkes came forth of the great Church of *Beziers*, called *S^c. Nazari*, with the Banner, the Crosses, their holy-water, bare headed, attired with the ornaments of the Church, and singing, *Te Deum laudamus*, as a signe of ioy that the Towne was taken, and purged of the *Albigeneses*. The Souldiers who had receiued command from the Legat to kill all, ranne in vpon them, brakethe order of their procession, made the heads and armes of the Priests to flie about, struing who should doe best, in such a manner, that they were all cut in pieces. To excuse this crueltie, disallowed by some of those that were spectators, they haue inserted into the Historie these reports; that is to say, That the *Pelerins* were incensed against the inhabitants of *Beziers*, because they had cast ouer the walls of the Citie, the booke of the Gospels, crying vnto them, See there the Law of your God; whereupon the Souldiers grew to this resolution, to kill all those they should find within the circuit of *Beziers*, that so they might be sure not to spare those that had thus blasphemed. But how could the *Albigeneses* doe any such thing so impious against the Gospell of our blessed Sauour, considering that one of the principall causes for which they had forsaken the Church of *Rome*, was because the Gospel of Christ Iesus, was, as it were buried amongst them, & the people forbid to reade it. And besides one of the great crimes, which they laid to the charge of the Earle *Remond*, was, because hee carried alwayes about him the New Testament. To this they added a miracle, and that was, that *Beziers* was taken vpon the day of *Marie Magdalen*, because (say they) Here-

The Treasure
of hist. in the
taking of Be-
ziers.
In the hist. of
the Monke
Pet. of the
Valleis Ser-
uey, of the
Albing. ch. 18.

heretikes speake ill of *Magdalin* in their law: Thus speakes the compiler of the Treasure. Now this imposture is so deuillish, that I hardly durst commit it to paper, and yet notwithstanding the Monke of the *Valleis Seruay*, sets it downe at large without doubts or scruples, though the very thought thereof would make the haire of any man that hath but the least sparke of pietie to stand on end.

Now the citie being burnt, razed and ransacked, the Pilgrims who thought they merited Paradise by this sacceige and effusion of bloud, were speedily conducted to *Carcaffonne*, before the forty daies of fight, which they had vowed to the Church of Rome, were expired, because then they were permitted euery man to depart to his owne home.

CHAP. V.

The Siege of Carcaffonne, the taking of the towne or Bourrough of Carcaffonne: An assault and generall Escaladogiuento the citie: A great number of the soldiers of the Crosse slaine: The Intercession of the King of Aragon for the Earle of Beziers, to no purpose: A stratagem for the taking of the Earle of Beziers: The flight of the people of Carcaffonne, by what meanes: The taking of Carcaffonne.



He Earle of *Beziers*, when he saw that he could obtaine nothing of the Legat in fauour of the city of *Beziers*, hauing left this charge to the Bishop, to make triall whether he by any meanes could obtaine pardon for those poore inhabitants, and in the meane time

time, because he knew very well that hauing taken *Beziers*, he would not suffer the city of *Carcaffonne*, to continue in peace, because being strong by nature, the Legat knew there was no store-house for the warre, nor better place of repose for the Soldiers than that was; he was counselled to retire himselfe thither, and speedily to cause it to be furnished, with whatsoeuer was fit to maintaine a long siege. He put himselfe therefore into *Carcaffonne*, being accompanied with his most faithfull attendants.

He was followed, as it were, foot by foot, by the Legats armie, vnto which there came new Croises or soldiers of the Crosse; that is to say, the Bishop of *Agenois*, the Bishop of *Limoges*, of *Bazades*, of *Cohors*, and the Archbishop of *Burdeaux*, ouery one, with the Pilgrims of their owne Diocesse. There likewise arriued the Earle of *Turaine*, *Bertrand de Cardaillac*, and the Lord of *Bastlenau*, of *Montraier*, who conducted the troopes of *Querci*, and of all these troopes the chiefe Leader was the Earle of *Dunoy*: There came also a great number of *Prouenceaux*, *Lombardes*, and *Germanes*, and that in so great a number, that the army of the Legat *Milon*, rose to the number of three hundred thousand fighting men, when he came before *Carcaffonne*.

The situation of *Carcaffonne* is in this manner. There is a city, and a Bourrough or towne. The city is seated vpon a little hill, enuironed with a double wall: the towne is in the plaine, distant from the citie about two miles. At that time the city was accounted a place of great strength; and in this city there dwelt a great number of *albingenses*. The Pilgrims thought to haue taken it at the first fight, for they ran with
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Chassagnon
in his hist. of
the Albing.
lib. 1. pag. 112.

great violence vpon the first Rampier, and filled the ditch with fagots; but they were bearen backe with such courage and resolution, that the ground was couered with the dead bodies of Pilgrims, round about the citie.

The young Earle of *Beziers*, Lord of *Carcaffonne*, wonne great honour in this first daies encounter, encouraging his subiects and telling them, that they must remember the vsage of those of *Beziers*; that they were to deale with the same enemies, who had changed the siege not the humour, nor the will to extirminate them if they could; That it was farre better for them to die fighting, than to fall into the hands of so cruell and mercilesse enemies. That for his owne part, he made profession of the Romish Religion, but yet he saw very well, that this warre was not for Religion, but a certaine robbery agreed vpon, to inuade the goods and lands of the Earle *Remond* and all his; That they had greater cause to defend themselves than he, who could loose no more but his goods and his life, without change of his religion, but they might loose that, and besides the exercise of their religion too; That he would neuer abandon them in so honourable an action, which was to defend themselves against the inuasions of their common enemies, masked with an outward appearance of pietie, and in effect true theues.

The *Albingenses* being much animated by the speech of this young Lord, swore vnto him, that they would spend their goods and their liues, for the preservation of the citie of *Carcaffonne*, and whatsoever did concerne the said Lord. The next morrow the Legat commanded an assault, and generall escalado

to

to bee made vpon the Borough of *Carcaffonne*. The people that were within, very valiantly defended themselves; but the ladders were so charged with men, and so neere the one to the other that they touched one another, insomuch that they forced those within from the walls, and so entred the towne, carrying themselves towards the inhabitants thereof, after the same manner as they had done before to those of *Beziers*; for they put them all to the sword and fire.

Whilest those things were in doing, the king of *Aragon* arrived at the army of the Legat; and went first to the tent of the Earle *Remond*, who was constrained to giue his assistance at this siege against his owne Nephew. From thence he went to the Legat, and told him that hauing vnderstood, that his kinsman the Earle of *Beziers* was besieged within *Carcaffonne*, hee was come vnto him to doe his best endeavour, to make the said Earle to vnderstand, what his duty was towards the Pope and the Church, which hee presumed hee should the more easily doe, because hee knew well, that the said Earle, had alwaies made profession of the Romish religion.

The Legat gaue him leaue, to vndertake what hee had said. The king of *Aragon*, made his approach to the Rampiers. The Earle of *Beziers* came to parley with him. The king of *Aragon* desired to know of him, what had moued him to shut vp himselfe within the citie of *Carcaffonne* against so great an Army of *Pelicans*. The Earle answered, that it greatly stood him vpon, hauing so necessary and so iust cause, to defend his life, his goods, and his subiects; That hee knew well that vnder the pretence of religion, the Pope had a purpose

utterly

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utterly to overthrow the Earle *Remond* his vncle, and himselfe; That he found by that mediation which he had made for his subiects of *Beziers*, the Romish Catholikes whereof he would not receiue into grace and fauour, neither had spared the Priests themselves, who were all cut in peeces euen adorned with their Priestly ornaments, and vnder the banner of the Crosse: That this example of cruell impietie, added vnto that which had passed in the towne of *Carcaffonne*, where they were all exposed to fire and sword, without distinction of age or sex, had taught him not to looke for any mercy either at the hands of the Legat or his *Pelering*: And that therefore he chose rather to die with his subiects defending himselfe, than to bee exposed to the mercy of so inexorable an enemy as the Legat was; And that notwithstanding there were within the city of *Carcaffonne* diuers of his subiects that were of a contrary religion to that of the Church of *Rome*, yet they were such a kinde of people as had neuer wronged any, that they were come to succor him at his greatest extremity, and for this their good seruice, he was resolved not to abandon them, as they had promised for their part to expose their liues and goods for his defence to all hazard and danger whatsoever: That his trust was in God (who is the defender of the oppressed) that he would bee pleased to assist them, against that world of men ill-advised, who vnder the colour of meriting heauen, haue forsaken their houses, to burne and pill and sacke and ransacke, and kill in the houses of other men, without either reason, iudgement or mercy.

The King of *Aragon* returned to the Legat, who assembled together diuers of his great Lords and Prelates,

lates, to heare and vnderstand what the King of *Aragon* would relate vnto him, who told him that hee found the Earle of *Beziers* his kinsman much discontented with the former proceedings against his subiects of *Beziers*, and the Towne of *Carcaffonne*, which gaue him reason to beleue, that forasmuch as they had not spared the Romish Catholikes, nor the Priests, that it was not a warre, vnderaken for the cause of Religion; but vnder the colour of Religion, a kind of theeuery; that his hope was, that God would giue him the grace to make him know his innocencie, and the iust occasion he had to defend himselfe; that they should no longer hope they would yeeld themselves to their discretion, because they saw their discretion was no other, but to kill as many as should yeeld themselves thereunto; And that therefore if it would please the Legat, to grant vnto the Earle of *Beziers* and his subiects some tollerable composition, that gentlenesse and mercy would sooner ioyne the *Albingenses* to the Church of *Rome*, than extreme crueltie; and that aboue all, they should remember that the Earle of *Beziers* was young, and a Romish Catholike, who might doe good seruice for the reducing of those that did any way relie or put their trust in him.

The Legat answered the King of *Aragon*, that if hee would retire himselfe a little, they would consult together of that which should be fittest to be done.

The King being recalled, the Legat gaue him to vnderstand, that for his sake, and in consideration of his intercession, he would receiue the Earle of *Beziers* vnto mercie, and with him some dozen might likewise come forth with their bag and baggage, if hee thought good; but for the people that were within the Citie of

The Monke
of the Valley
Sernay, Chap.
20.

Du Hailan in
his History of
France, touch-
ing the siege
of Carcas-
sonne.

Carcaſſonne, they ſhould not depart, but at his diſcreti-
on, whereof they ſhould hope well and haue a good
opinion, becauſe hee was the Popes Legat, and that
they ſhould all come forth naked, men, women, maids,
children, without ſhirts, or ſmocks, or other couering,
to hide their nakedneſſe: Alſo that the Earle of *Beziers*
ſhould be deliuered to ſure guard, and all his goods to
remaiue to the future Lord of that Countrey, which
ſhould be choſen for the preſeruatiō thereof.

The King of *Aragon*, though he ſaw this compoſition
to be vnworthy the propoſing to the Earle of *Beziers*,
yet neuertheleſſe thought good to diſcharge his office
herein, to whom the Earle of *Beziers* answered, That
he would neuer come forth vpon conditions ſo ſeaſo-
ned, and ſo vniuſt, and that hee was reſolued to defend
himſelfe with his ſubiects, by ſuch meanes as it ſhould
pleaſe God to giue vnto him.

The King of *Aragon* retired himſelfe, not without
ſhew of the great diſcontent he receiued by this vniuſt
proceeding. The Legat herenpon commanded all his
engins of warre to play, and that they ſhould take the
Citie by force. But it was a ſpectacle little pleaſing vn-
to him, for hee was an eye-witneſſe of the loſſe of a
great number of his *Pelerins*. For they of the Citie
threw downe ſuch a quantitie of great ſtones, with fire,
and pitch, and brimſtone, and boyling water, and
gauled the aſſaylants with ſuch infinite numbers of
arrowes, that the earth was couered, and the ditches
filled with the dead bodies of the *Pelerins*, which cauſed
a wonderfull noyſome ſtench, both in the Campe
and in the Citie. This rude vnwelcome overthrow
cauſed many of his Souldiers of the Croſſe to forrage
and ſeek for booty abroad, as hauing accompliſhed
their

their tearme of fortie daies, during the which they had
gained Paradice, and reſuſing to conquer any more,
after ſo faire a purchaſe, for feare they ſhould change
their former felicitie for blowes.

The Legat being much troubled to ſee his company
reduced to ſo ſmall a number, and being without hope
to take that place ſo important to harbour him, that
hereafter ſhould haue the conduct of the Armie of the
Church; he bethought himſelfe of a ſtratagem, which
he effected, and it was this: He ſent for a certaine Gen-
tleman well ſpoken, that was in the Armie, telling him
that it was in his power to doe a notable peece of ſer-
uice to the Church, whereby beſides the reward hee
ſhould receiue in Heauen, he ſhould in this life be re-
compenced according to his merit. And ſo hee told
him that he was to approach as neere as he could to the
rampiers of the Citie of *Carcaſſonne*, and there make
ſome ſigne to thoſe that were beſieged, that he deſired
to haue ſome parley with them, and to ſpeake with the
Earle of *Beziers*, as his kinſman and ſeruant, to whom
hee had ſome thing to ſay, that might redound to his
great honour and benefit, and all that were within
Carcaſſonne, & that then he ſhould ſtraine his wits, and
doe his beſt endeauour to put him into feares, and to
perſwade him to haue recourſe vnto his mercy, and
withall, to worke him by perſwaſions, promiſes and
oathes, with execrations (of which he being the Popes
Legat had power alwaies to acquit and diſcharge him)
to bee content to bee conducted by him to the Legat,
with aſſurance to bring him backe againe ſafe and
ſound into *Carcaſſonne*.

This Gentleman played his part ſo well, that hee
brought with him the ſaid Earle of *Beziers*, to ſpeake
with

with the Legat, where the young Earle told him, that if hee would bee pleased to carry himselfe with greater mildnesse towards his subiects, hee might easily reclaime them as he would himselfe, and winne the *Albingenses* to the Church; that the composition which was offered them, was dishonorable, and ill-befitting those that were to haue their eyes as chaste as their thoughts, and that his people would rather choose to dye, than to be brought to so great a shame; and therefore hee humbly intreated him to bee more mercifull vnto them, promising to perswade his subiects to accept of any other condition more tollerable.

The answer of the Legat was: That they of *Carcaffonne* might determine with themselves, as they thought best, and that he in the meane time should take no care for them, for hee was now his prisoner vntill *Carcaffonne* were taken, and his subiects had better learnt their duty.

The Earle being much astonished hereat, protested and auerred that he was betrayed, and faith was violated, and that hee was come thither vpon the word of a Gentleman, giuen with oathes & execrations, that he would conduct him backe safe and sound into the City of *Carcaffonne*. But being demanded who and where that Gentleman was, this yong Earle was taught that it was no wisdom to leaue his Citie, vpon the warrant of simple words onely. Hee was committed to the guard and custodie of the Duke of *Burgongne*.

The inhabitants of *Carcaffonne* hauing vnderstood of the imprisonment of their Lord, brake out into teares, and were stricken with strange astonishments, insomuch that they now thought of nothing so much, as how to escape the danger they were in; but all meanes

of

of escape (to the outward appearance) were taken away, for they were shut vp on all sides, and the trenches full of men. But one among the rest told them, that he did remember, that he had heard some ancient men of the Citie say, that there was in *Carcaffonne* a certaine vault or channell vnder the ground, great and capable, insomuch that men might walke in it vpright, & many together, which continued to the Castle of *Cameret*, in *Cabaret*, about three leagues from *Carcaffonne*, and that if the entry thereof might be found, God had provided for them a miraculous deliuerance. Hereupon all the Citizens were imployed about this search of the vault, except the guard, which were vpon the Rampiers. At the last, the mouth or entrance thereof being found, they all began this iourney through it, about the beginning of the night, with their wiues and children, carrying only with them, some victuals for a few dayes.

This remoue and departure accompanied with outcries and gronings, and sorrow to leaue their houses and moueables, furnished with al manner of goods and furniture, to betake themselves to an vncertaine course to saue themselves by flight, leading with them their infants, & old decrepit people, with the pittifull shriekings and outcries of women, was a most heauy and lamentable spectacle. They arriued the next morrow at the said Castle, and from thence they disperfed themselves here and there, some to *Aragon*, others to *Catalongue*, others to *Toulouze*, and other Townes that tooke part with them, whither it pleased God to conduct them.

The morrow after in the morning the *Pelersins* were all strangely astonished, for that they had heard no noise all that night, but much more because they saw

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*Chaff. lib. 2. chap.
14. pag. 121.*

no man stirring that day. They came neere to the walls, but yet with some doubt, fearing lest it should be a baite to draw them within the toyle, but yet neuerthelesse finding nothing that might make them any way distrustfull, they mounted the breach, entred the Citie, and cryed out to the Armie, that the *Albingenses* were fled. The Legat speedily sent to make publike Proclamations, that no man should ceaze vpon any body in his owne right, but that all should bee carryed to the great Church of *Carcassonne*, from whence afterwards all things should be brought and sold for the benefit of the *Pelerins*, rewarding euery one according to his merit. And so it was done, and the Earle of *Beziers* committed to prison in one of the strongest Towers of *Carcassonne*.

CHAP. VI.

The Legat Milon establisbeth a Captaine of warre for the Church; the Earle Simon of Montfort accepteth the charge: The Earle Remond is absolved by the Pope: The Earle of Beziers dieth: The King of Aragon displeased with the Earle Simon: Diuers reuolt from his obedience: He demandeth of the Prelats a new supply of the Souldiers of the Crosse.



He Citie of *Carcassonne* being in the possession of the Legat, hee resolved with him selfe to make it a Towne of warre, an Arcenall against the *Albingenses*, and presently hee assembled all the Prelats and great Lords which were yet in his Armie, to take counsell how hee might make it a place fit to maintaine

a warre of long continuance in time to come. Besides, he gaue them to vnderstand, that notwithstanding hee thought it very necessary, that there should bee alwaies in the Armies of the Church, a Legat of his Holinesse, to giue authoritie to whatsoener should passe, yet neuerthelesse it was likewise necessary that there should be a secular Captaine of the warre, one that was puissant, wise, valiant and fearefull, absolutely to command all occurrences, and to expedite all affaires concerning the warre, by his prudent guide and gouernment, it not belonging to the capacitie of Ecclesiasticall persons to leade Armies, or to make warre; and that therefore they should consult with themselues, to cast their eyes vpon some one of the Lords of the Crosse, to whom the conquered Countries might be committed, and the care for the direction of this holy warre, vntill it might be otherwise determined by the Pope.

This charge was first offered to the Duke of *Burgogne*, afterwards to the Earle of *Enneuers*, and to the Earle of *S^t. Paul*, who did all refuse it. Which the Legat seeing and perceiuing it would be a difficult matter to agree in the nomination of a Captaine, with one mutuall consent they named two Bishops, with the Abbot of *Cisteaux*, Legat of the Apostolike Sea, and foure men of Armes, to whom they gaue power to choose him, that hereafter should leade the Armie of the Church.

They named the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort* neere *Paris*, notice whereof being giuen vnto him, hee excused him selfe, alledging his incapacie and vnabilities; but in the end he accepted of it, after that the Abbot of *Cisteaux* had laid his commandement vpon him, enioyning him by vertue of obedience, to accept of the

The Treasure
of Histories
in the Treat
of Albingen-
tes.

said nomination, whereupon hee promised (saith the Compiler of the Treasure of Histories) to doe his best endeauour to vex the enemies of our Lord, for so they tearme the *Albingenses*.

The Earle *Simon* of *Montfort*, being Generall of the Armie of the Church, made his abode at *Carcassonne*, with foure thousand of his *Pelerins*, which as yet remained of that great Leuy of three hundred thousand men. *Montreal*, *Fauiaux* and *Limons*, contributed great summes of money for the Garison. For they were not to harbour those Pilgrims that were not bound to any seruice, their time of fortie daies being expired; but such Souldiers as were well affected for the guard of that place.

In this meane time, the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouse*, went to King *Phillip Dieu-donne*, to get his letters of Commendation to the Pope, to the end he might bee fully cleered and iustified touching the death of the Monke, *Frier Peter de Chasteauneuf*, of the which hee was iniustly forced to confesse himselfe guilty, onely because the murder was committed within his territories, for which the Legat *Milon* had imposed an vniust penance vpon. From the Court of the King of *France*, he trauelled to *Rome*, where he did immediatly receiue his absolution of Pope *Innocent* the third, as if it had beene ready and provided for him. The Pope receiued him with all the curtesie that might be, giuing him for a present, a rich Cloke, and a Ring of great price, and granting vnto him full remission and absolution touching the said murder, and declaring that he held him in this regard sufficiently iustified.

The Earle of *Beziars* being prisoner at *Carcassonne*, dyed shortly after, the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort* was put

put in possession of his Lands, not without great suspicion of poison. The Earle *Simon* made shew to be much griued therewith, and caused him to be interred in the great Church of *Carcassonne*, with great pompe, and with his face vncovered, to the end that none of his Subiects might afterwards doubt of his death. Presently after he made challenge to the inheritance and whole estate of the said Earle, by vertue of those donations which the Legat of the Pope had conferred vpon him, and that charge that was laid vpon him for the Church.

In pursuit whereof, hee demanded of the King of *Aragon*, the innestiture of the Earledome of *Beziars*, and the Citie of *Carcassonne*. The King of *Aragon* would not yeeld thereunto, bewraying much discontent, to see this house onerthrowne vnder a pretence of Religion. The like discontent did the Duke of *Bourgonne* shew, at what time the charge of the Generall was offered vnto him, saying, That hee had Lands and Lordships enough without the accepting of those of the Earle of *Beziars*, and the spoiling him of his goods, adding therewithall, that he had alreadie suffered wrong enough.

Chastag.
pag. 126.

All the bordering neighbours of the Earle *Simon*, began to feare him, vpon a report which he gaue forth, that at the spring following, he would haue a great Armie of *Pelerins* at his command, and that then hee would chastise those, which had not acknowledged the authoritie wherein the Church had placed him. *Castres* sent vnto him the Keyes of their Citie, by some of their Bourgeses. The Castle of *Pamies* was yeilded vnto him, euery one submitted themselves to his command, round about *Carcassonne*, and the Vi-

countie of *Beziers*. But he received a back-blow in the midst of his prosperitie, which was a presage vnto him of some euill. For the King of *Aragon*, keeping secretly the Gentlemen of the Vicountie of *Beziers*, in breath, encouraged them to bring vnto equall termes this petty-tyrant, who was brought in for the good of another, saying, That if he were not constrained to haue alwaies a world of Pilgrims for his conquests, he would abuse this his rest, to take heart to invade the goods of all those that are neere adioyning, vnder a pretence of that charge hee hath from the Pope: but if he once knew how dangerous, it would be for him, to want his Souldiers of the *Crosse*, hee would be better aduised, considering that it is not possible, that he should alwaies haue so great a number of Pilgrims, that should alwaies make him fearefull; for there must be time for the leuying of them, time for the conducting of them from farre Countries, and if he should make no vse of them within fortie daies of their arriual, hee would be more weake than before, after the expiration of their Pilgrimage: That to hurt and hinder him, there can be no better course taken than to keepe themselues locked vp in their Garrisons at the comming of the Pilgrims, and at their departure when they were weake, to set vpon him on euery part; that at the last he will be so weary of his great trauels, that he will thinke he hath bought at a deare rate, the good which he beleeued he had gotten by the title of a Donation of those that had nothing to giue. The King of *Aragon* added hereunto that he had neuer heard of any so vniust a vsurpation, for if this war were made to take away the goods and liues of the *Albingenses*, by what title had the Legat confiscated the goods

goods, of the Earle of *Beziers*, who had alwaies liued, and also died in the beleefe of the Church of *Rome*? That he therefore perceiued, that the greatest crime they could finde in the said Earle, was, that they found him to be young, and no way powerfull. That if God gaue him life, he would make it appeare, that he loued the Earle of *Beziers*, and that he was his Kinsman, and would likewise shew himselfe a true friend, to those that had any feeling of those wrongs and outrages that were offered him. Those hopes to be succoured by the King of *Aragon*, gaue heart and courage vnto those, that with great impatiency bare the dominion and power of the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort*, in such sort, that the said Earle being one day, gone from *Carcassonne* to *Montpelier*, he found at his returne, that diuers had taken Armes, to shake off their yoake, hauing besieged certaine of his Souldiers in a Tower neere to *Carcassonne*. He speedily made his returne to succour them, but too late, for not being able to passe a Riuer called *Sarasse*, and being gone to *Carcassonne* to passe by the bridge, the Tower was taken before hee came. This small affront brought him into some contempt, and gaue heart to others, to offer the like. About this time, Captaine *Boucard* for the said Earle *Simon* at the Castle of *Seissac*, attempted the surprize of the strong Castle of *Cabaret*, whereof mention hath beene made heretofore; for this end and purpose, he made his approach vnto the said Castle, as closely as he could. Captaine *Roger*, who was within the said Castle, for the Earle *Remond* was come forth with fourescore horse, to forrage and seeke for boorie: *Boucard* vpon the sudden, and vnlooked for, charged him, and had well-neere discomfited him; but *Roger* hauing taken

The Monke
of the Valley
Sernay.
chap. 33.

taken knowledge of the enemy, doubled the charge vpon him in so furious a manner, that he ouercame the troops of *Boucard*, and brought him Prisoner to that Castle, which he said he came to surprize.

At this very time, *Gerard of Pepios*, tooke part with the *Albigenfes*, and seized vpon *Puisforignier*, and the Castle of *Menerbe*. Now the warre began to grow very cruell, for (if it be true that the Monke of the *Valles Sernay* hath written) *Gerard* caused the eyes of all the Souldiers of the Earle *Simon*, which he could take to be pluckt out, and cut off their eares and their noses with their vpper lip, & sent them all naked to the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort*, leaving one for a guide vnto the other, with one eye. On the other part, whensoever the Earle *Simon* was victor in any place, he caused a great fire to bee made, and cast into it as many of the *Albigenfes* as he could take. All they of the Romish Church did as much, that bare Armes for the *Albigenfes*; for *William* of *Rochford*, Bishop of *Carcaffonne*, caused the Abbot of *Cisteaux* to be slaine, meeting him neere vnto *Carcaffonne*, his body being found murdered with six and thirtie wounds, and the Monke which accompanied him, with foure and twentie.

Then the Citie of *Carcaffonne* (saith the Monke) and the Souldiers that were in it, were stricken with such feare, That they had little hope to defend themselves but by flight, for they saw themselves (saith he) enuironed on all sides with infinite enemies. From these miseries, which did much moue the patience of the Earle *Simon*, hee tooke occasion to write, to all the Prelats throughout *Europe*, that if in the Spring following, he were not assisted with new succours of Pilgrims, it was impossible for him to hold out, for his enemies finding

Chap. 7. of the *Albigenfes*. 41

finding his weaknesse, tooke the aduantage thereof: witnesse that after the last departure of the Pilgrims, he had lost about forty townes & Castles, of which the people had before brought him the keyes, and were now all reuolted from him and the Church, being beyond his power to remedy it for want of men. Hee therefore intreated them in the name of God, to giue their helping hand, otherwise he must be enforced to yeeld vp the rights of the Church and the Countrey altogether.

Now matters thus standing, the Earle *Simon* attending new succours, tooke the Castle of *Beron* neare *Montreal*, where he caused the eyes of about a hundred *Albigenfes* to bee pulled out, and cut off their noses, leauing onely one with one eye to bee a guide to the rest, and to conduct them to *Cabaret*. This stirred vp the *Albigenfes* in such sort, that had not succours instantly come, they had shut him vp on euery side.

Chaff. pag. 136.

CHAP. VII.

New succours of Pilgrimes come to the Earle *Simon*, conducted from France by his Wife; The Earle *Simon* by them reconereth the Castles of *Menerbe* and *Termes*, and the Towne De la Vaur: The Earle *Remond* is cited before the Legat; He refuseth to appeare: *Folquet* the Bishop of *Toulouze* ouer-reacheth him; causeth him to lose the Castle *Narbonnes*: The Legat *Milon* dieth.



In the yeare one thousand two hundred and ten, the Earle *Simon* being shut vp (saith the Treasure of Histories) within *Carcaffonne*, for want of Pilgrims, he vnderstood that

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that the Countesse his Wife, came from *France*, and brought with her a great number of *Pelerins*, which gaue him great comfort, and he went out to meet her.

A pleasant warre it was, wherein Priests denied the Souldiers, and a woman conducted them to the warres.

The *Pelerins* were employed in the recouerie of the Castle of *Menerbe*, a place very strong by nature, vpon the Frontiers of *Spaine*. This siege was procured by the intreatie of *Ameri*, Lord of *Narbonne*, and the Inhabitants thereof, who complained that alwaies in former times this place had beene as a thorne in their feet: They yeelded themselves for want of water, to the discretion of the Legat, who caused the Pilgrims to enter the place with the Crosse and the Banner, and singing *Te Deum laudamus*. The Abbot of *Vauze* would needs preach to those that were within the Castle, and to exhort them to acknowledge the Pope, and to sticke to the Romish Church; but they not staying till he had ended his Discourse, they all of them cryed out, saying, *We will not forsake our faith, we reiect the Romish, you labour but in vaine, for neither life nor death shall make vs to abandon our beleefe*. Vpon this answer, the Earle *Simon* and the Legat, commanded a great fire to bee made, and cast into it a hundred and fortie persons, as well women as men, who went into it with ioy, giuing thanks vnto God for that it pleased him to doe them the honour, to suffer and to dye for his names sake. Thus did these true Martirs of Christ Iesus finish their fraile liues in the midst of the flames, to liue eternally in heauen; And thus did they triumph ouer the Legat of the Pope, resisting him to his face, and threatening the iust iudgement of God vpon the

The Monk of
the Vallies of
Sernay, chap.
47.
Chass. lib. 3. chap.
7.

the Earle *Simon*, and that one day hee would pay dearely for his cruelties, howsoeuer he seemed now to commit them scotfree, yet he would pay for all when the bookes should be opened. There were a number of Priests and Monkes, that did exhort them to take pittie on themselves, promising them their liues, if they would liue according to the beleefe of the Church of *Rome*: There were only three women that accepted of the condition, that is to say, to liue by abiuring their religion; all the rest died constantly; but they were vanquished by the allurements of the mother of *Richard de Marillac*.

After this expedition, the Earle *Simon* besieged the Castle of *Termes* in the same territorie of *Narbonne*, a place that seemed impregnable by any force of man. It was taken for want of water, not by any capitulation: but because hauing had along time a great want of water, it rained and they dranke of the water which fell into their Cisternes, nor sufficiently purified, whereupon they fell into diuers diseases. Seeing therefore themselves brought to such an estate, that if they had beene driuen to fight, they had had no power to make resistance; they resolved one night to quit the place; which they did not being descried by any: The souldiers of the Bishop of *Chartres* made entrie as soone as they perceiued they were all departed, and there set vp the ensigne of their Bishop.

Amongst other reasons which the Earle *Simon* vsed, to animate his *Pilgrims*, this was the most pregnant, that this place was the most execrable of all the rest, because there had beene no Masse sung there since the ycare 1180: that is to say for the space of thirty yeeres.

Termes. The
Lord of Tho-
lo in the hist.
of his times
p. 459.

The Monke of
the Vallies
Sernay ch. 51.
and so for-
ward.

La Vaur.

Chass. lib. 3. pa.
141.
Ologarei in
hist. of Foix.
pag. 129.

The Castle *Veuille de la Vaur*, much troubled the Earle *Simon*. It was besieged with new troopes of *Pilgrims*, which a little before came from France, whilst the siege was at *Termes*, that is to say, the Bishop of *Chartres*, of *Beauvais*, the Earle of *Dreux*, and the Earle of *Pontieure*. This place was vpon the riuier of *Agotte*, about fife leagues from *Carcaffonne*, towards *Toulouze*, whereof the sister of *Aimeri*, Lord of *Montreal* whose name was *Gerande*, was Lady. The Legat had taken from the said Lord of *Montreal* all his places, which was the cause why he put himselfe into the city *de la Vaur* to defend his Sister. There were within this place many honest men: There came *Pilgrims* from all parts to the Legat: From *Normandie* the troopes being conducted by their Bishops, especially by him of *Lisieux*; and there came also vnto him six thousand *Alemans*. The Earle of *Foix* being aduertised which way they came, went and lay in ambuscado for them, where he ouerthrew them all, not any escaping, but a certain Earle, who at the first encounter, ran away to carry newes to the Earle *Simon*, who pursued the Earle of *Foix* with foureteene thousand men, but in vaine, for he had before retired himselfe to *Moniscard*.

After six moneths siege, the city *de la Vaur* was taken by assault, where all were put to the sword, except fourescore gentlemen, whom the Earle *Simon* caused to bee hanged and strangled, and *Aimeri* was hanged vpon a gibber, higher than all the rest; and the Lady of *Lauar*, was cast aliuie into a ditch, and therein couered with stones. One onely act of humanity wee reade was done by the troopes of the Earle *Simon*; and that is, that a gentleman vnderstanding that there were in a house diuers women and children sicke, hee begged them

them of the Generall, and they were granted vnto him; who conducted them safe and sound out of the citie, not being offered by any man the least indignitie that may be.

These were the principall places that the Legat rooke in the yeere one thousand two hundred and ten. We must now returne to the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*, who at his returne from *Rome* with letters of fauour from the Pope, gaue the Legat *Milon* to vnderstand, that he was reconciled vnto the Pope, and had receiued from him his full absolution, and that he had bestowed vpon him some presents. In the meane time the matter is otherwise set downe in the Treasure of histories, for there it is said, *That the Pope writ to the Bishop of Rhodois, to Master Miles, and Master Theodosius, that if the Earle could purge himselfe sufficiently before them, of the death of Frier Peter, and the heresie for which he was suspected, that they should giue him his purgation.*

This clause gaue authority againe to the Legats, to heare the said Earle, touching the aforesaid businesse, which was to bring him backe againe to the beginning of all his misery. The Earle *Simon* pressed the Legat to proceed in the fact of the Earle *Remond*, either to absolue, or to condemne him, to the end he might know, whether he should hold him for a friend or for an enemy of the Pope and of the Church, to be at peace with him, or to make war against him.

The Legat *Milon* commanded him to appeare in his owne person, because he would know once for all, how he and his subiects liued with them, that is to say, with the Earle *Simon* and the Church.

The Earle *Remond* answered, that neither he nor his

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Subiects

1210.

The Treatise
of hist. in the
treat. of the
Albing.

Chass. lib. 3.
pag. 129.

Subjects had any thing to doe with them, that he had made his agreement and reconciliation with the Pope, which the Legat could not be ignorant of, to whom he had shewed the *Bulles*, and therefore hee intreated them to forbear any farther to disquiet him. The Earle *Simon* and the Legat writ vnto him againe, that it was very necessary, that he should make repaire vnto him to fulfill the contents of the *Bulles*. He answered that he had rather take the paines to goe to king *Philip* of France, and to the Emperor, yea to *Rome*, to the Pope himselfe, to complaine of the wronges they did vnto him, than to put himselfe any more into their hands.

When the Legat saw that he could not winne him by Letters, he resolved to play the fox and to winne him by subtilties. They sent vnto him *Folquet* Bishop of *Toulouze*, and instructed him how hee should cary himselfe to deceiue him: This was a capable instrument for the premeditated treason. He went therefore to the Earle *Remond*, insinuated himselfe into his fauour, with fained protestations of his desire to serue him, and his great grieve to see so little loue betwixt the Legat and himselfe, wishing that it were in his power to stand him in any steed therein, though with the losse of his owne blood, and offering vnto him all loue and assistance: That he had far greater reason to procure the preservation of his good, than any other person whatsoever: That he would aduise him as a friend, to take from the Legat all pretence of suspicion: That when he had once shewed himselfe confident of him, they would no longer doubt of his fidelitie; and that euen now a faire occasion was offered, to binde the Legat and the Earle *Simon* vnto him, and

and that was, that whereas he knew they were shortly to come to *Toulouze*, if he would offer vnto them his Castle *Narbonne* to lodge in, it would be an excellent testimony of that confidence hee had in them and binde them to loue him. The Earle *Remond* being thus gulled by this Bishop, offered them his castle: They accepted thereof, and presently placed therein a great garrison. The word was no sooner slip't the Earles mouth, but he was sure he should repent it, but it was now too late to recall it. He cursed his owne imprudency, and his friends and subjects, his too great facility; for he saw them incontinently to fortifie his Castle, that it might serue them for a canesson and bridle for his owne subjects: As also from the time of their entrance into that place, he found that they grew bold to speake all the ill they could of the Earle *Remond*, and that with open mouth; saying that he had mocked the Pope, giuing him to vnderstand that which was false, and promising that which he would neuer performe, inso much that he was as great an heretike as he was before his abiuration.

That in the ruine and punishment of the Earle *Remond*, the destruction of the *Albingses* did consist: but on the contrary, though the ground were covered with the dead bodies of the *Albingses*, if the Earle *Remond* should remaine, they would alwaies bud and spring vp againe, and therefore it was resolved to exterminate and utterly to destroy the house of *Remond* from the bottome to the top. But when men purpose that which God hath otherwise disposed, they come many times short: So it was with the Earle *Simon*, who was frustrated of this hope, by the sudden v unexpected death of the Legat *Milon*, which changed the face of the

the affaires of the said Earle *Milon*: for he was faine to spend many yeares in the ruinating of that house of the Earle *Remond* and his adherents, which hee had promised to doe in a few daies.

CHAP. VIII.

Theodosius succeedeth the Legat Milon: proceedeth against the Earle Remond, excommunicateth him, and frames very violent articles against him: The Earle Remond retireth himselfe from S^r. Giles and Arles with the king of Aragon, lest they should be apprehended by the Legat: Simon besiegeth Montferrand: Baudoin revolteth: The king of Aragon allieth himselfe with the Earle Simon.

1211.



IN the yeere of our Lord 1211. *Thadize* gaue the Earle *Remond* to vnderstand, that he should haue what was iust and right touching his affaires, and with faire words perswaded him to come to S^r. *Giles*. Being there he ript vp the businesse touching the murder of the Monke *Frier Peter de Chasteauneuf* from the beginning, without consideration of any precedent iustification, and excommunicated the said Earle *Remond*, not as being guilty of the death of the said Monke, but because he had not driuen the *Albingsenses* out of his countrey as he was bound by promise. The Earle *Remond* hauing felt the blast of the said excommunication, retired himselfe to *Toulouze*, nor speaking a word, before the Legat had meanes to publish the sentence.

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Chap. 8. of the *Albingsenses*. 49

The Bishop of *Toulouze* knowing hee was excommunicated, sent one to certifie vnto him, that hee was to depart out of the citie of *Toulouze*, so long as the Masse was singing, because he might not say Masse, there being an excommunicated person within the citie. The Earle *Remond* being much moued with the audacious boldnesse of the Bishop, sent a Gentleman, one of his followers to tell him, that hee was to depart and that speedily out of his territories, vpon paine of his life. The Bishop departed and sent to the Prouost of the Cathedrall Church, and to the Canons, that they were to depart with them, and that with the Crosse, and the Banner, and the Hoast, and for the greater deuotion, they should goe barefoot and in proceffion. In this equipage they arrived at the Armie of the Legat, where they were receiued as Martyrs persecuted for the Masse, euen with teares of the Pilgrims, and the generall applause of euery one.

The Legat thought now that he had sufficient cause to prosecute the Earle *Remond*, as a relapse and impenitent man, but yet he desired much to get hold of him, because if he could once apprehend him, hee would quickly make him to conclude that businesse as the Earle of *Beziers* did. To this purpose, hee flattered him by Letters, full of testimonies of his great loue towards him, & by this meanes drew him once againe to *Arles*. The Earle entreated the King of *Aragon* that he would be there to hinder (if need should be) any foule play that might bee offered. Being come to the place, the Legat commanded the King of *Aragon*, and the said Earle *Remond*, that they should not depart the city, without his leaue vpon paine of indignation, and

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to be prosecuted as rebels to the Church. Some friend of the Earles vsed the meanes, to giue him a sight of the Articles of the Sentence, which the Legat had a purpose to publish against the said Earle *Remond*, which were these that follow.

That the Earle of *Toulouze* shall incontinently dismisse and casheere all his men of Armes, not retaining any one of them.

That he shal be obedient, and subiect to the Church, of which he shall repaire the damages, and satisfie all costs and charges.

That throughout all his lands, no man shall eat more than two sorts of flesh.

That he shall expell out of his countries and territories, all the heretikes and their allies.

That he shall deliuer into the hands of the Legat, and the Earle of *Montford*, all those that shall bee named vnto him, to doe with them as they please, and that within one yeare.

That no man within his lands, noble or ignoble, shall weare any apparell of great price, but blacke and course clokes.

That all the strong places and castles of defence, belonging vnto him, shall be ouerthrowne and laid euen with the ground.

That no Gentleman of his shall remaine or dwell in any City or Castle, but shall make his abode, in the fields and countrey houses, as a villager.

That he shall not leuy in his lands any tolles, but those that haue beene of old time imposed.

That euery master of an house, shall pay yearly to the Legat foure *Toulouzean* pence.

That when the Earle of *Montford*, or any of his people

people shall passe through his countries, they shall pay nothing for any thing they take or spend.

That hauing performed all things, as aboue, he shall trauell beyond the Seas, to make warre against the *Turkes*, neuer returning againe into these parts, but by the commandement of the Legat.

That after all these things, the Legat and the Earle of *Montford* should restore vnto him, all his Lands and Signories, when it should please them.

These Articles being communicated to the King of *Aragon*, he found them so vniust, that he would stay no longer in that place, but counselled the Earle of *Toulouze* presently to mount on horse-backe, for feare lest they should ceaze vpon his person, even to the full execution of those Articles, who it should seeme went about to enrich themselves by his spoyles. And forasmuch as the said King of *Aragon* had perswaded the said Earle that hee should put no more confidence in the Legat and Earle *Simon*, hee cast in his teeth his too great facilitie, saying vnto him in *Gasconne* tongue: *Pla bous an pagat*, that is to say, *They haue well payed you*.

The Legat and the Earle *Simon* being much discontented that this prey had escaped their hands, and knowing that he would no more suffer himselfe to be abused and ouer-reached by words, they endeouored to get that by force, which either by faire words or foule they could not. Whereupon they went presently and besieged the Castle of *Montferrand*, into which the Earle *Remond* had put the Earle *Baudoni* his brother, with the Vicount of *Montelar*, *Remond* of *Pierregourde*, and *Pons Roux* of *Toulouze*, and diuers other valiant men to defend that place, which he knew to be of great

importance. After some breach and assaults, the Earle *Simon* being out of all hope to winne this place by force of Armes, desired to speake with the Earle *Baudoni*, which hauing obtained, he told him that his brother made it appeare vnto the world, that he had desire to vndoe him, in that hee had shut him vp in so paltrie a place, which he very well saw hee could not long defend, for that at the arriual of that world of Pilgrims, which were now marching towards him, hee would quickly know, how great an ouersight it was to locke vp himselfe within so weake a hold: That if he did attend any violent assault of these Pilgrims, there would be no more place for mercie. That if he would yeeld himselfe and the place, hee would leaue it to his guard for the Church, and besides, he would make him, for the time to come, a partner of his conquests, with such aduantage, that hee should shortly bee a greater man, and in greater authoritie than his brother, who had procured vnto himselfe, by his rebellion, his vtter ouerthrow. That hee could neuer haue power sufficient to resist the force of so many Kings, Princes and Potentates, who sent their people to this warre, rewarded by their owne zeale, without any charge of the Church. That every man would commend and admire this his retreat, besides that happinesse he should gaine vnto himselfe, by consecrating himselfe to the seruice of God and his Church, and acquitting himselfe of that people amongst whom there was not any that was not iudged by the Church worthy to be condemned to the fire. The Earle *Baudoni* suffered himselfe to bee carried by the promises and faire speeches of the Earle *Simon*, and so deliuered vp the place, and put himselfe into *Bruniquel*, a place very strong which belonged

belonged to the Earle *Remond*, and promised neuer to beare Armes, but in defence of the Church. These two places drew with them, to the Earle *Simons* part, the places of *Rabasteins*, *Gaillac*, *Montague*, *La Guarda*, *Peeb*, *Selsas*, *La Guipia*, *S^t. Antonin*, with other places neere adioyning.

The Earle *Remond* being much astonished to see himselfe betrayed, and abandoned by his owne brother, bewayled his misfortunes at *Toulouse*, where from day to day hee attended to bee inuested; when vpon the surcharge of these euils, hee vnderstood that the Legat and the Earle *Simon*, had wonne vnto them the King of *Aragon*, his one and only prop vpon earth, vnder God. The meane to worke it was this: The Legat writ vnto him, that he should winne great commendation, and doe greater seruice to the Pope and to the Church, if he would once againe become a mediator for the peace of the Church. And to that end they entreated him to come to *Narbonne*, where they hoped to lay a good foundation. Hee tooke his iourney thither, where the first thing they proposed, was, to make some agreement betwixt the Earle of *Faix*, and the Church, and the Earle *Simon*. A premeditated designe againe to spoyle the Earle *Remond* of his succours. Afterwards they gaue him to vnderstand, that the Earle *Simon* desired to liue with him, as with his best kinsman and friend that he had in the world, and for this cause he was very willing to ioyne in alliance with him, if he would be pleased to accept of a daughter of the Earle *Simons*, to marry with his eldest sonne. And such conditions they proposed vnto him, that he was content that his sonne should marry the daughter of the said Earle *Simon*; in regard of which alliance, the King of

Aragon, gaue to the Earle *Simon* the inuestiture of the Earledome of *Beziers*, which before hee would neuer agree vnto, nor to that of *Carcaffonne*, which he likewise at the same time obtained. But that which did most hurt the Earles of *Toulouze*, and of *Foix*, was, that they caused the King of *Aragon* to sweare, that he would no more fauour the *Albingses*, but carry himselfe as a Neuter in this warre betwixt the Church and them.

The Earle *Simon* hauing gotten that which he desired, that is, to alienate the King of *Aragon* from the Earles of *Toulouze*, and of *Foix*, hee tooke his time to bend his forces both against the one and the other.

CHAP. IX.

The Earle Simon besiegeth Toulouze, makes a spoile and is beaten, he raiseth the siege. Aimeri is taken prisoner. The Earle of Toulouze is succored, and by whom. The Earle Simon makes warre with the Earle of Foix, who goes in person to speake with the Legat, but obtaines nothing: The King of Aragon animateth the Earle of Foix, and his sonne Roger, and intercedeth for them in vaine.



He first attempt that the Earle *Simon* made, after his alliance with the King of *Aragon*, was the siege of *Toulouze*, being strengthened with a great multitude of Pilgrims, which the Bishop of *Toulouze* went to leuy in France, whilst the Legat *Theodize*, and the Earle *Simon* did delay the Earle *Remond*, vnder the shadow of a treaty of peace with him. Being arrived at *Montan-*

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dran, vpon the borders of *Garonne*, neere to *Toulouze*, the Earle *Remond* made a sallie out of *Toulouze*, with five hundred horse, and footmen a great number, and came as farre as the bridge, in hope to gaine it, or to breake it downe.

There was at that bridge a great fight, and many there died both on the one side and the other. In the end, the Earle *Remond* sounded a retreat, whereupon the enemy tooke heart, passed the bridge, and pursued the Earle *Remond*, euen to the gates of *Toulouze*. The Earle *Remond* made so sudden and so furious a re- counter vpon them, that he beat backe his enemy vnto the bridge, which was not large inough to receiue them, so that they were almost all slaine before they were at the foot thereof. *Aimeri* the sonne of the said *Simon* of *Montfort*, was taken prisoner.

The Earle *Simon* seeing this losse, and his sonne taken prisoner, animated his Pilgrims to the combat. They endeuoring to be reuenged of this ouerthrow, ranne into the ditches, set vp their ladders, but they were valiantly repulsed. The ditches were filled with the dead bodies of the Pilgrims, and the Earle *Simon* was beaten from his horse. In the midst of this conflict, arriued the Earle of *Champagne*, with a great number of Pilgrims, and he came in good time to bee well beaten. The Earle *Simon* commanded them all to goe to the spoile, whereupon the Pilgrims ranne into the Vineyards, Orchards and Gardens, cut downe all trees that bare fruit, plucked vp the Vines by the roots; at what time the President of *Agene* came forth of *Toulouze*, with a great number of the inhabitants thereof, who seeing them to spoile their possessions, ranne vpon the Pilgrims with violence, scattered here and there

there through the fields, and slew a great number of them. On the other side the Earle of *Foix* conducting some troopes of horse and foot, slew as many as hee met with. The Earle of *Bar* held his troopes in better order, and seeing the disorder especially of those that were flying away, hee cryed out, a *Bar*, a *Bar*; which the inhabitants of *Toulouze* vnderstanding, charged them so brauely, before any of them could gather themselves vnto him, that he was discomfited with the rest. The Earle *Remond* retired his troopes into *Toulouze*, and commanded solemne thanks to bee giuen vnto God, for so admirable a victorie over his enemies.

The fame of the Earle *Remonds* victories being spread abroad, there came vnto him diuers succours, from all the parts round about him, for they were all weary of the troopes of the Pilgrims, and willingly offered both their goods and their liues to driue them out of the Countrey. The Earle *Simon* being in some scarcitie of victuall, because the wayes whereby they should be releued, were stopt, was constrained to raise his siege. And besides the Earle of *Chalons*, the Earle of *Bar*, and certaine other *Germaine* Earles, retired themselves, their quarantaines or fortie daies being expired; but yet he would not bee altogether idle that Autumne: Hee therefore marched into the Countreies of the Earle of *Foix*, to refresh the rest of his Armie, and to possesse himselfe of some places. Hee went as farre as the Towne of *Foix*, made spoyle of all that was about it, and then set fire to the Towne. Being at *Panies*, the Legat tooke the one halfe of the Armie to accompanie him to *Roquemaure*, where hee went to passe the winter, and in his way being in the Earle-
dome

*Chass. lib. 3.
chap. 14. pag.
169.*

The Monke
of the Valley
Sernay. *Chap.*
79.

dome of *S^t. Felix* of *Caraman*, he tooke the Tower of *Cassas*, and about one hundred men therein, and caused them all to be burnt aliue, and laid the place leuell with the ground. In the meane time the Earle *Simon* ruinated the Countreies of the Earle of *Foix*, as long as the said Earle kept his bed, being visited with a grievous sicknesse, during the which, his seruants that were about him, durst not tell him of his losses; that is to say, of *Panies*, *Sauerdun*, *Mirepoix* and *Prissant*, which had beene likewise battered, a place very strong neere *Carcafforane*. Being recovered of his sicknesse, and vnderstanding what hauocke the Earle *Simon* had made of his houses, and what ruine his poore subjects had endured, he went to the Armie, and desired to speake with the Generall, and thus hee deliuered his minde vnto him.

"The inconstancie of tottering fortune (my masters and most renowned Lords) is the cause why I am not astonished to see my selfe thus infinitely afflicted by this cruell Step-mother. I haue heretofore braued mine enemies, fought in the field amongst those that would resist my power, entertained the great and mightie Monarches as my friends; None haue threatned me, much lesse offended me, neither could my sword euer beare it. I haue beene employed in publike negotiations, which carry with them, as their attendants, infinite discommodities, neither haue I gotten any dishonor thereby, and I should haue held my labor ill employed, if they had not bin vpon worthy occasions, neuer hauing desired to bee accounted an honest man, by those vnworthy and vnjust meanes that some men purpose vnto themselves. For he that is not an honest man, but because

*Hologoray in
his Hist. of
Foix. pag. 133.*

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other

" other men should know him to bee so, and that hee
 " might be the better esteemed after knowledge taken
 " thereof: he that will not doe good, but vpon conditi-
 " on that his vertue may be knowne by other men, he
 " is not the person from whom any great seruice can
 " be expected. Wee must (saith the Maxime) goe to
 " war out of dutie, and attend the reward which is ne-
 " uer wanting to all honorable actions, be they neuer
 " so secret: yea, even our vertuous cogitations, being
 " the onely contentment which a conscience well or-
 " dered receiveth in it selfe for well doing. Having
 " therefore (my masters and friends) my courage still
 " lodged in a firme and assured place, against all the
 " assaults of Fortune, & my conscience cleere in this,
 " that I neuer gaue you any occasion to rise vp against
 " me, I haue made no doubt to appeare before you in
 " this assembly, and to bring with me my head, not
 " my treasures, to expose them to the mercy of the
 " Souldier, or my commodities, to plant them as Bar-
 " riers about my lands and territories, which you haue
 " begunne without reason to bring into a lamentable
 " estate, to be iudged by your Counsell, and according
 " thereunto, to condescend to that which shall be de-
 " termined. For I had rather neuer to haue beene
 " borne, than to suruine my reputation, neither can I
 " suffer that honor and glory, which in my yonger
 " yeeres I haue iustly wonne, to be extinguished. Haue
 " you ever knowne me to be an enemy to the Realme
 " of *France*? If it be so, let me lose both life and ho-
 " nour, with shame and dishonour. And who dares
 " speake it to my face? Haue I conspired against the
 " Church? What haue I done, that any man should
 " haue that conceit of me? And doe you thinke, that
 " for

" for the poore remainder of this fantastickall imagina-
 " ry life which I haue to liue, I will lose the essentiall
 " life, and purchase to my selfe, to please any mans ap-
 " petite, an eternall death? The wise men of the world
 " haue proposed to themselves a more honourable
 " and iust end, to so important an enterprize. There
 " is no man of honour that chooseth not rather to lose
 " his honour than his conscience. It is that which I
 " hold to bee the dearest Iewell within my Cabinet.
 " Keepe me I pray you in that range which the Kings
 " of *France* haue giuen mee, that is, to bee thought
 " faithfull, as they haue heretofore censured me, when
 " they haue had occasion to deale in the affaires of my
 " House, to the end (saith he) that being offended, I
 " be not constrained to defend my selfe, and to offend
 " you, which shall bee much against mine owne will
 " and intention. And this by oath I vow vnto you.

Roger the sonne of the Earle of *Foix* was much af-
 flicted with the submission of his father, as being an
 action too base for the greatnesse of their house. The
 King of *Aragon* did likewise distaste it. For notwith-
 standing he were allied to the Earle *Simon*, yet hee did
 not feare to let him vnderstand, that he could not ap-
 proue of his vsurpations vnder the pretence of religion.

The Earle *Simon* on the other side, said with a
 loud voice.

Holog. pag. 133.

" That the conquests were iust and lawfull: that he
 " had his right from the Pope: that there was no o-
 " ther purchase, but that which hee wonne with the
 " sword: that hee had an Armie to answer whomsoe-
 " uer should oppose himselfe against it, were it the
 " King of *Aragon*, and of strength sufficient to defend
 " himselfe against whomsoeuer.

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The King of *Aragon* writ to the Earle of *Foix*, that forasmuch as the Legat, and the Earle *Simon* had deceived him, in not restoring those lands and places, which they had promised him to restore, that hee should no longer put any trust in them, since the intent of the Earle *Simon* was too well knowne. That is, that hee endeavored to make himselfe great and rich with the goods of another, vnder a pretence of Religion, if his ambition and auarice were not staied, by the common armes and intelligence of those, whom hee had already spoyled of their goods, and of all others that doe but vnderstand, that hauing begunne with their neighbours, hee will likewise desire to follow that course without end, the couetous desires of men being endlesse. That he knew very well that hee did not seeke his alliance, out of any desire hee had to be honoured thereby, but onely to hinder him from succoring those whom he desired to strip out of all they had. He likewise exhorted by letters, *Roger* the sonne of the Earle of *Foix*, to fortifie himselfe against the vniust vsurpations of *Montfort*, otherwise euery man would laugh at him; that the Earle *Simon* was but weake, accompanied with a few Pilgrims, ready out of discontent to retire themselves: that he should therefore enter the field, and hee should quickly finde who would assit him.

The Earle *Remond* being much afflicted with the alienation of the King of *Aragon*, by the marriage of his sonne with the daughter of *Simon* of *Montfort*, thought it necessarie to doe his best endeour to regaine him, by another marriage. He offered therefore his only son and heire in marriage to a daughter of his; vnto which motion, the King of *Aragon* yeelded his consent.

consent. The Earle *Simon* was much displeased herewith. The Monk saith, That this marriage made the King of *Aragon* very infamous, and much suspected, considering that the Earle of *Toulouze*, was a manifest persecuter of the Church.

The King of *Aragon* knowing the murmurings of the Earle *Simon*, did not feare with open mouth, to publish his purpose and intent to defend the Earle of *Toulouze*, and of *Foix*. That the one was his Brother in Law, the other his Subiect. That he did assure himselfe of a day, that God would giue them, to make him repent his vniust conquests.

The Earle *Simon* being aduertized of the threats of the King of *Aragon*, intreated him to blot out those bad impressions, which he had conceived of him, and that he would make him the iudge, and stickler of the difference that was betwixt him and the Earle of *Foix*. The Earle of *Foix* on the other side, intreated the King of *Aragon* to yeeld thereunto; who obtained of the Earle *Simon* the restitution of all his Lands and Territories, except *Pamies*. Which exception, when his sonne *Roger* vnderstood, he presently said hee would none of that; but he knew very well how to recouer that with his sword, which very vniustly he had taken from him by foule play, and false pretences. Wherevpon he entred the field, foraged, tooke his occasions seasonably, and bestowed his time with such incredible diligence, in all his exploits, that he made the Armie of the *Crosse* to feele the bloody effects of his valour. On the other side, the Earle of *Toulouze* tooke the aduantage of the time, nourisheth those sparkles of diuision, seekes to win the loue of the Earle of *Foix*, and they make betweene them and their allies, a league

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offenliue

The Monke
of the Valley
Sernay, Chap.
67.

offensive and defensive, against the Earle *Simon* their common enemy, and assemble themselves at *Toulouze*, to binde it by oath, and so they prepare themselves for the warre, euery one contributing according to his abilitie towards an action of such importance.

CHAP. X.

The siege of Castlenau d'Arri: the retrait of the Earle Simon: The Earle of Foix offers him battaile: The King of Aragon intercedeth for the Earles of Toulouze, of Foix, and Comminge; he writeth for them, to the Councell de la Vaur, and obtaineth nothing. The King of Aragon defies the Earle Simon, they make leuies both on the one side and the other; but the Earle Simon aduancing himselfe, takes diuers places.

Holagary in his
lust. of Foix.



THE first exploit of this warre which the Confederates vnderooke, was the siege of *Castlenau d'Arri*, whether they marched in this order. The Vauntgard was conducted by the Earle of *Foix*, and Prince *Roger* his sonne. The maine battell by *Remond* Earle of *Toulouze*. The rereward by the Prince and Lord of *Bearn*. This Armie was composed of fiftie thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, and besides that, the Citie of *Toulouze* was furnished with a good and strong garrison, and all munitions and instruments of warre. The Earle *Simon* put himselfe into *Castlenau d'Arri*. The situation of this place was good, and the Castle one of the best; and there were in the Citie many Souldiers and great Captaines, and great store of munition for a long siege. The Earle of *Foix* made his approach, lodged himselfe neere the rampiers, where

where hee framed many fabricks. In the meane time the enemy sallied forth of the Citie, and put themselves very rudely and resolutely vpon an Army of the Vauntguard, but they were with such courage repulsed, that diuers remaining dead within the trenches, the rest retired to bethinke themselves of a better course. The Subburbs were taken by the besiegers. The Earle *Roger* was there wounded with a stone, cast from the Citie by one of their Engines. The Earle of *Toulouze* incamped himselfe vpon a little hill, right ouer against the Castle, intrenching and enuironing himselfe with railes and barriers. The Prince of *Bearn* lay on the other side of the Citie. The Armie of the *Albingenses* increased daily, vpon a report giuen forth that the Earle *Simon* was there shut vp, so great a desire had euery one to see his ruine. And because there were too many of the *Albingenses* at this siege, it was thought good that the Earle *Remond* should take a part of the Army to surprize certaine small holds and Castles, which were somewhat disadvantageous to the Army. He tooke *Puylaurens*, *Albi*, *Rabasteins*, *Gailbac*, *Montagnut*, and *Sauerdun*.

The Earle *Simon* began to see his ouer-sight, to suffer himselfe to be inclosed within *Castlenau d'Arri*, and that inasmuch as hee was the Generall, it was fit hee should be at libertie, to prouide for all other places depending vpon his authoritie. He left within the place, *Guy de Lewis*, called the Marshall of Faith, and to the end he might slip out the better, he caused a sally to be made vpon the besiegers, ingaging certaine troops, whilst he in the meane time might make his escape.

The Earle *Remond* being aduertised of the departure of the Earle *Simon*, was much offended there-
with,

with, more for shame, than for any ill hee conceived thereof: because the report had beene euery where spread abroad that the Generall was in the Cage, and that he should not come forth but bare-headed, the halter about his neck, and begging mercy. They complained one of another. The Earle of *Foix*, that they had left him without succour in so dangerous a flight. The Earle *Remond*, that he would put himselfe into so great danger, without knowledge giuen vnto any.

In the end they resolved to raise the siege, because of Winter, and a great leuy of Pilgrims marching towards them, whose lines the Earle *Simon* did not greatly tender, because hee had the Popes Bull, that whosoever should lose his life in that warre, should goe presently to Paradise, as neare from all sinning, as a Hen-roost from ordure. The Earle *Simon* was strangely puffed vp with pride, making himselfe merry with that great preparation of warre, altogether vnprofitable to the *Albigeneses*, especially that they had suffered him to make an escape, being twelue to one. Vpon this retreat, they in *Castlenau* would needs follow the Armie; but it cost them deare. For *Roger* made a furious returne vpon them, killing many of them, and beating them backe euen to the gates of the Citie.

The Monke of the Valley *Sernay* tells this Fable; That notwithstanding there were a hundred thousand fighting men in the Armie of the *Albigeneses*, yet they of *Castlenau d'Arri* went forth to their Vintage, and gathered their Grapes as if there had beene no enemy before the Citie, and that their seruants went to water their Horses, halfe a league from the Citie, the *Albigeneses* not daring to charge them. See here the truth of a Monkish Historiographer. So likewise

when

when he falls into outrages, they are without measure or end. In this Discourse he growes very chollerick, against one *Sauari* of *Mauleon*, President to the King of England at *Guienne*, who had conducted some troops before *Castlenau d'Arri*, in fauour of the *Albigeneses*; he calls him Infidell, Expugner of the Church, a dangerous poyson, a wicked forlorne person, enemy to God, the Prince of Apostacy, artificiall in cruelties, the author of all peruerfenesse, a diabolicall man, nay the Deuill himselfe. Doubtlesse he had either giuen him a hard chase, or his stile is very Monkish.

After this retreat, all the Lords of the *Albigeneses* retired themselues into their quarters. The Earle of *Foix* vnderstanding that the Earle *Simon* was gone to *Pamies*, where he much troubled his Subiects, he departed from *Toulouze* with two thousand men, and came to the gates of *Pamies*, offering battell to the Earle *Simon*, but he would by no meanes harken thereunto, finding his Pilgrims too weak. And doubting that at the Spring following the *Albigeneses* would take the field; the Earle *Simon* all the Winter thought of nothing so much, as to strengthen the places which he held, to maintaine the sieges. Among the rest being desirous to prouide for *Fantaux*, a place of great importance; *Roger* perceiuing it, lay in Ambush in such manner, and to such purpose, that he discomfited all those that brought either victuals or munitions.

In the meane time, the Earle *Simon*, who doubted nothing so much as the King of *Aragon*, caused the Legat to write vnto him, that he should no more meddle with the affaires of the *Albigeneses*, except he would intangle himselfe in the same miseries with them, and include himselfe in the same excommunication. He like-

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like-

likewise caused *Philip* King of *France* to write vnto him, intreating him not to fauour those that were enemies to the Pope and to the Church: The Legat likewise caused him to write to the Pope, touching the same matter.

These intreaties of the Pope, and the *French* King, were vnto him as expresse Commands, and therefore when the Earle of *Foix*, *Toulouze* and *Comminge*, pressed him to assist them, he told them he would doe it; but it was fit hee should first doe his endeavour to obtaine that by gentle and peaceable meanes, which by warre could not be obtained without danger. That the Legat was in counsell with all those of his part, that he would write vnto them, and that if hee could not obtaine what he desired by Letters, he would enforce them to do him reason by Armes. He writ therefore to the said Councell, beseeching them to end these deadly warres, enterprised vnder a pretence of Religion, offering for the Earles, their obedience to the Pope and the Church of *Rome*, but yet that they should neuer promise any peace before restitution was made vnto the said Earles, of all their lands and goods. The Councell *de la Vaur* returned this answer.

"We haue vnderstood the requests that heretofore
"you haue made in the behalfe of the Earle of *Toulouze*, his son & his Counsel, the Earle of *Foix*, and of
"Comminge, & the Lord of *Bearne*, wherein you name
"your selfe the humble & deuoted son of the church;
"for which wee giue thanks to our Lord God, and
"to your Highnesse. Assure your selfe, that in respect
"of that loue you beare to the Church, wee giue our
"best attention vnto them with our cares, and receiue
"them with gladnesse from our hearts; but touching
"the

The Monke
of the Valley
Sernay, fol.
113.

"the answer we are to make to your Greatnesse, and
"the request made by the Earle of *Toulouze*, his Counsell and his sonne, we certifie you that the cause and
"denotation thereof belongs to our Soueraigne Father, hauing reserved it to his Holinesse. You may
"call to minde if you please, the infinite offers,
"grants and graces, which our holy Father the Pope
"hath offered vnto him, after innumerable cruelties
"and horrible outrages. You may likewise remember
"the kinde entertainment, which hee found in the
"Archbishoprick of *Nerbonne*, by the Abbot of *Cisteraux*, & Legat at *Montpelier* two years since; as also the
"offers which were made vnto him, which he would
"not accept of: Which grace and fauour he so much
"scorned, that he made it appeare confidently, and
"with all oft, that he was not only enemy to God, but
"to his Church, for which cause he hath deserued to
"be banished for euer from God, his Grace, and his
"Church. Touching the requests of the Earle of
"Foix, Comminge, and Lord of *Bearne*; they haue
"fringed the oathes giuen by them, and in stead of
"commodating themselues to that kinde and courteous
"admonishment, they are filled with that abominable
"heresie, for which to their great shame and ignomie,
"they were excommunicated. And this is
"all the answer wee can giue to the demand of your
"Greatnesse. Giuen at *La Vaur* 15. Kalend. Febr.
"1212.

The King of *Aragon* being much moued with this answer, sent againe to the Councell, demanding truce for the said Earles, vntill they had receiued an answer from the Pope, but it was denied.

The Earle of *Foix* was well contented, that the

Councell had yeelded nothing to the requests of the King of *Aragon*, because he must haue beene engaged by promise for him, that he should acknowledge his tenure of the Pope and the Church of *Rome*; And which was more, seeing that the King persisted in this opinion, that such promises were to bee made, to re-obtaine their goods, to the end they might neuer engage themselves for that they could not performe, knowing that the King of *Aragon*, the Earle of *Toulouze*, and *Comminge*, were assembled at *Toulouze* to provide for their affaires, he came thither; and thus he spake vnto them.

Holagray in
his hist. of Foix

" Sir, and you my Masters & Friends; Forasmuch as
" ambition can teach men both valour and tempe-
" rancy, and auarice can plant in the heart, of a Shop-
" boy brought vp in the shade and in idlenesse, an afflu-
" rance to depart from his household harth, and to
" commit himselfe to the billowes of the Sea, and the
" mercy of angry *Neptune* in a small and fraile vessell,
" it shall be great weaknesse, and litherly negligence in
" vs, who by the renowned Acts of our Trophies are
" knowne euen to the Confinnes of *Arabia*, if we shall
" now come by a seruile and treacherous acknow-
" ledgement to overthrow the Tables, and Registers
" of our valours so highly elevated. No, no, mine
" arme shall neuer consent thereunto, we are not now
" in bondage. I and my sonne chuse rather to make
" triall of the inconstant hazzard of warre, than to
" bring vpon vs, and ours so great and so notable an
" infamy. And therefore, for the honour of God quit
" vs of that shame, that men take no notice of our la-
" mentable estate, mourning & sighing after our losses,
" like Distaffe-bearers. If we must needs bow, let it be
" when

" when we haue first done the parts of good and braue
" Captaines. It is an aduenturous and high enterprise,
" (you will say) but it was resolued vpon by your
" selues, *Que ie voy maintenant les ressorts qui lui donnent*
" *le branle de sa cheute*. Fare ye well. Sir, We yeeld
" not our consent in any thing; Come what come
" may.

The King of *Aragon* was much moued with this discourse of the Earle of *Foix*, wherein hee layeth an imputation vpon him, that hee was the cause of their ruine, because he had animated them against the Legat and the Earle *Simon*, and that now hee left them as a prey, by procuring a peace worse than a bloody warre. You haue Sir (saith hee) opened a doore to our enemies, to tyrannize ouer vs, if they had accepted of it, and to a glorie more great, than they could hope to attaine by Armes, for we had beene all their Subiects, without any other charge, than your owne instant request. As for my selfe (saith he) I had rather haue giuen my selfe the stab, than to haue drunke of that cup. And after many examples produced by him of those that haue changed a miserable life for a present death, killing themselves before they would serue for Trophies to their enemies, he continued his discourse as followeth.

For mine owne part, I had rather follow these great Spirits, than hauing so often giuen testimony of my valour for another, preferre life before honour by being lazie and negligent in a businesse that concernes my selfe. And though Fortune deny me all meanes, to make opposition against that wrong that another shall offer mee, yet my courage will neuer giue way, that I should make my selfe the speech of the people,

ora triumph for men more vnworthy than my selfe. This their deniall of what you demanded, doth comfort me, and it vpholds our honor, for we must either haue broken our faith, or played the Cowards like needy beggers, and liued a life more cruell, more intollerable, than any torment of *Phalaris*; like miserable men yeelding our neckes to the yoke of the enemy, and confessing our selues beaten, sell our owne libertie, and our childrens after vs, and that for ever. Good God what a blow were this Sir? For asmuch therefore as the tempest is growen so great, and wee are driuen to so extreme a necessitie, imbrace vs in your armes, be our head, seruing vs for an example, a watch-tower, a conduct: So shall we engage our wills and our liues, to shew our selues your most humble seruants in time of need, and valorous Souldiers when occasion shall be offered. And though I be now worne with yeares, yet neuer had I greater courage or better resolution.

The Earle *Remond* on the other side, intreated the King of *Aragon* not to abandon their cause, offering vnto him both his goods and his life, to fight vnder his authoritie.

The King of *Aragon* being overcome with these intreaties, and moued with compassion towards the afflicted, in the end tooke armes, and sent this ricket of defiance, to the Earle *Simon* by two Trumpetters. Indeuour without delay to execute the will of the Pope, or to fight with your Lord, and if you fall into my hands, you shall pay for it. It is your dutie, and I will haue it so, and I rather desire it, than to put my selfe to the charge of a great Army for your ruine.

The Earle *Simon* made good vse of this Letter of defiance,

defiance, for hee sent it into diuers parts of Europe, shewing by the Bishops and Monkes that preached the Croisade, that the care was not now for the Earle of *Toulouze*, *Foix*, *Comminge*, or the Prince of *Bearne*, but for a puissant King, who had made himselfe the Generall of the *Albigeneses*, and that if he were not assisted extraordinarily, the cause of the Church was at an end; and therefore he entreated all good Christians, especially the King of *France*, to giue his best assistance in these holy warres, and extreme necessitie.

On the other side, the King of *Aragon* writ to the King of *France*, that the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort* had a spirit puffed vp with high conceits, farre exceeding both the capacitie of his vnderstanding, and his forces; That al his intentions were no other than plaisterings, vnder the pretence of Religion, and in the meane time he intended nothing so much as to bee a King in deed, and *Simon* by name. He beseecheth the King by Letters and by his Agents, that hee would not interpose himselfe in this warre, neither on the one part, nor the other. Which he obtained of the King, inso-much that it troubled him to see his Subiects continually drawne to the shambles of this warre of the *Albigeneses*, vnder a pretence of the Popes pardon, and to see so many of his great Lords his Kinsmen so vexed by the Earle *Simon*. When the Earle *Simon* vnderstood, that the King of *France* was made a Neuter, he was much afflicted therewith, hauing now no other recourse but to the threats of the Legat to excommunicate him, if he should proceed any farther. The Legat sent him an Ambassage and Letters. The King of *Aragon* returned this answer; Goe speedily and tell your Master that I will come and see him, and giue him

him an answer with ten thousand fighting men, and will him to defend himselfe, for I will teach him to play with his Peere.

The Monke
of the Valleys
Sernay. Chap.
89.

Chaff. chap. 17.
pag. 177.

Euery one makes preparation. The Earle *Simon* sent into *France*, to the Archdeacon of *Paris*, and Master *Iaques de Vitri*, to preach the Croisade. The King *Phillip Auguste* would not haue this Leuy to bee made in his Realme: but yet neuerthelesse, there went a great number from *Auuergne*, *Normandie*, and about *Lion*. The Pilgrims arrived before the King of *Aragon* had prepared his Armie, which gaue great aduantage to the Earle *Simon*, for hee tooke in the meane time *Grane*, came into the Earledome of *Foix*, tooke *Tudelle* of the *Albingenses*, and slew all that hee found in it, without distinction of age or sex, besieged *S^t. Antonin*, and tooke it, and caused thirtie of the principall of that place to bee hanged and strangled, and that in cold blood, and after he had granted them their liues, and permitted the Conuent of Monkes that was in that place, to be sacked and ransacked: He besieged *Penes*, and receiued it by composition, as he did likewise *Marmande*: He ceased vpon the Castle of *Biron* neere the Sea. The Earle *Simon* caused *Martin Alquay* to bee tyed to the taile of a horse, and to be dragged through his Armie, and afterwards hanged him, because he had before deliuered vp the place to the Earle *Remond*. Moreouer, the Castle *Sarrasin* and *Agen* were yeilded to the Earle. *Moissac* opened the gates to the Souldiers of the Croise, and all this did the Earle *Simon*, before the King of *Aragon* or his Armie did appeare.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The exploits of the Earle Simon before the King of Aragon had prepared his Armie: The King of Aragon would come to no composition with the Earle Simon, being weakened: The Citie of Muret taken by the King of Aragon: Battell giuen: The King of Aragon is slaine, and his Armie dissipated.



In the yeere of our Lord, one thousand two hundred and thirteene, and the thirteenth of September, the King of *Aragon* with the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*, *Remond* Earle of *Foix*, and the Earle of *Comminge*, and Prince of *Bearne*, appeared in the field with their Armie, composed of seuen thousand horses, and thirtie thousand foot. They tooke *Muret* a little Citie vpon the borders of the Earledome of *Foix*, seated vpon *Garonne*, but they tooke not the Castle. The Earle *Simon* was of opinion, that that was the place where the Armie of his enemies should waste and spend it selfe, because the Castle was good and strong, and that if he made resistance for some time, it would of it selfe bee scattered and ouerthrowne. Hee therefore put himselfe into that Castle, with some small number of his most expert and valorous Souldiers, and furnished it with munition, and gaue by his presence such assurance vnto the besieged, that they thought themselves inuincible, of such power is the good opinion that the Souldiers haue of their Captaine, to confirme those that are most weake.

There were some that began to enter into confide-

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ration of the proceedings of the King of *Aragon*, in that he would not accept of a compolition so aduantageous for himselfe and the Lords of the *Albigenfes*, as the Earle *Simon* had offered him, when hee saw the inequality of their forces. For the Earle *Simon* had not aboue seven hundred men on foot, and five hundred horse. It is not good to assault a man, that hath no hope to escape but by armes, for there is not a more violent Schoole-mistres than necessitie. But the King of *Aragon* thought it no time to smoothe and to flatter, after so many insolent brauados against his Lord, of which the Monke hath noted some; as where hee saith, that hee writ certaine letters vnto him, without any salutation, containing these tearmes, that if hee continued in his obstinate defiance, hee returned the defiance vpon himselfe, and that from thence forward he held not himselfe bound to doe him any seruice, and that hee doubted not, by the helpe of God, to defend himselfe against him and his confederates.

The King of *Aragon* having these insolent speeches engrauen in his memorie, thought him vnworthy of any grace or fauour in this his weaknesse; especially imagining that this his submission might onely bee to auoid this dangerous shocke, and to attend his Pilgrims, that hee might afterwards be more insolent than before: that at other times when the Earle *Simon* was in his greatest height, followed with a hundred thousand men, it was his manner alwayes to scoffe at the submissions of the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*, and of *Faix*, and that it were therefore great weaknesse not to returne like for like: that he would afterwards mocke them, if they should haue compassion of him that neuer had pittie of any: that since hee had so long time taken

The Monke
of the Valles
Sernay. Chap.
126.

taken his pleasure to prouoke the Lords to bee his enemies, hee should haue furnished himselfe with greater numbers of Souldiers, and such as might haue more sollid pay than the Popes pardons, that might not leave him at his greatest need, nor bee perswaded like Pilgrims, that there was nothing more to bee gained: for hee that hath gotten Paradice (as the Pope would make men beleene in his Bulls) hath nothing else to get but blowes if he desire any thing more, as they vse to doe who continue in this warre after their quarantines, their fortie dayes are spent.

The King of *Aragon* therefore thought it was fit he should take his aduantages against a man so malicious and so insolent. But none can promise himselfe the victorie, but the eternall, who is the God of warre, for neither the number of men, nor the equipage or furniture can giue the victories, but onely God, who many times maketh his power to appeare in the weaknesse of men.

Their Armies were ranged in this manner. The Earle of *Foix*, and his sonne *Roger*, lead the Vauntgard of the Armie of the King of *Aragon*, consisting of three thousand horse, and ten thousand foot, bowmen, and Pikemen, which were the surest armes in those times. The Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze* commanded the battell, assisted by the Earle of *Comminge*, and the Prince of *Bearne*, wherein there were aboue foure thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, without any reereward.

The Vauntgard of the Earle *Simon* was conducted by *Guy de Lewis* Marshall of the Faith, consisting of five hundred horse, and three hundred foot. The Earle was in the battell with a thousand horse, and foure hun-

dred men on foot, almost all French, without any reereward.

The King of *Aragon* made his turnes and returnes in the head of his Armie; which was thought to bee a great oversight, because the Generall of an Armie must not carry himselfe like a Captaine of Arquebuziers, nor runne his Curuets to be seene, because in the losse of him, consists the losse of the battell, and the Countrey which he defends; but hee is to keepe himselfe in the heart of the Armie, to direct by his iudgement, as occasions fall out, the whole body of the Armie, which is not to stirre but by his command and direction. The Earle *Simon* quite contrary, came downe from the Castle of *Muret* with a slow pace, shut vp (as it were) and in good order: The King of *Aragon* seeing him, thought hee came rather to cast himselfe downe at his feet, than to fight. The King of *Aragon* had lodged his Armie in a place very aduantageous and fauourable. They ioyned battell, and presently the Vantgard of the Earle *Simon* was almost cut in peeces, and it went so ill with him and his, that it seemed vnto him that that was the place whither God had called him, to pay with vsurie, for all his fore-passed cruelties and insolencies, to his owne shame; when the King of *Aragon* in the head of his Vauntgard approached for his totall ruine and destruction; for being come neere to an ambush of foure hundred Harquebuziers which the Earle *Simon* had placed in certaine old decayed houses, he was wounded to death, and fell from his horse. Whereupon they fell presently into such a disorder and astonishment, that doe what the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouse*, of *Foix* and *Comminge*, what they could to stay this cowardly Armie, they could

could preuaile nothing with them, but were enforced themselves to follow the trace, and to commit themselves to the hazard and euent of this shamefull retreat, flying directly to *Toulouse*. The Earle *Simon* taking the aduantage of his victory, and following the chase, euen to the gates of *Toulouse*, slew so many men in this dayes fight, that himselfe was moued with compassion, grieving for the hard hap of his Lord the King of *Aragon*, and causing a search to bee made among the dead, commanded him to be interred, not in the ground which they call holy, because hee was excommunicated, but in a field nere to *S^t. Granier*.

The Bishops, Priests and Monkes, which were within the Castle of *Muret*, from whence they might behold from farre the euent of this daies iourney, haue had a Monke that gives them the whole commendations of this so renowned a victory, affirming that it was obtained by the benediction which the Bishop of *Comminge* gaue to the Army with the Crosse, promising to the Pilgrims Paradise, without any paine of Purgatory, and that if they died in that fight, they should all be receiued into heauen as Martyrs. As also hee saith, that all the Ecclesiasticall persons that were within the place, retired themselves to a Church all the time of the Combat, and that they praied with such ardency, that they seemed by their crie rather to houle than to pray.

He that writes the History of *Languedoc* saith, that they got the aduantage because they had receiued the benediction from the Bishops, and had adored the wood of the true Crosse in the hands of the Bishop of *Toulouse*.

On the other side, the *Albingenses* acknowledged that

The Monke
of the Valleis
Sernay, chap.
127.

The History
de *Lang.* fol.
12.

that they saw herein an extraordinary prooffe of the iudgement of God, in that the king of *Aragon*, attributed at that time, more to his owne power and providence, than the helpe and succours of the eternall God. But yet for all this, they lost not their courage, though they had lost in this iourney, fiftene thousand fighting men, neither did they dispaire of the iustice and goodnesse of their cause, it not being the first armie that hath beene discomfited in a iust quarrell, nor the first bad cause, that hath beene maintained with victory. So foure hundred thousand men of *Israel*, were beaten by twenty six thousand of the children of *Beniamin*, who maintained a bad cause, and slew in two battells two and forty thousand men.

Iudge 20.
1 Sam. 4.

2 King. 23

Iudge 20. So the *Philistins* being vncircumcised Idolaters, got the better in two battells against the *Israelites*, and slew of them, thirty foure thousand men, and tooke the Arke of God. So *Jonathan* was slaine by the *Philistins*. So *Iosiah* who was zealous of the seruice of God, receiued his deadly blow fighting against the king of *Egipt* at *Megiddo*. So king *Iohn* hauing an armie of sixty thousand men, was discomfited and taken prisoner by the Prince of *Wales*, who had not aboute eight thousand men, notwithstanding the cause of the king of *France* were very iust, defending himselfe against his enimie, who assaulted him in his owne countrey.

The warre of the *Albingenses* encreased; for the Earle *Simon* thought it was necessary hee should pursue his enemies being halfe dead and ouerthrowne, and the *Albingenses* for their part, knew that they must of necessitie defend themselves, or bee vanquished and brought into thraldome.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Pope Innocent the third, sent against the *Albingenses* a new Legat named Bonaventure. Prince Lewis the sonne of Philip tooke on him the Crosse, and caused *Toulouze* and *Narbonne* to be dismantled, and the walles laid euen with the ground.



He Earle *Simon* being puffed vp with this victorie, sent one to summon the Earle of *Toulouze*, *Foix*, and *Comminge*, and the Prince of *Bearne*, to deliuer vnto him, the keis of those cities and castles that they possessed, and that they should subscribe to what it pleased the Legat, or resolute miserably to perish.

He receiued no answer, but euery one betooke himselfe to his owne territories, there to provide the best they could possibly for their affaires. The Earle *Remond* retired himselfe to *Montauban*, and writ to those of *Toulouze*, from whence he was but then departed, that he vnderstood that *Rodolph* the Bishop of *Arras* was comming with a great number of Pilgrims, and therefore, forasmuch as he saw, that they had no meanes to defend their city, against so great a force, that they should treat and grow to some composition with the Earle *Simon*, reseruing only their hearts vnto himselfe, vntill God should giue meanes, to free them from those miseries wherein they were plunged, by the insatiable auarice of their common enimie. In the meane time, he, the Earle of *Foix*, *Comminge*, and the Prince of *Bearne*, did their endeouours to trouble and to infest the enemies Armies, with all the power they could

could for their common good. The citie of *Toulouze* deputed six of the principall men of the city, to offer to the Earle *Simon*, the keies of *Toulouze*. He receiued them honourably and commanded them not to depart from him without his permission. In the meane time, he writ to *Lewis* the sonne of king *Philip*, that since the battle of *Muret*, they of *Toulouze* offered to yeeld themselves vnto him, but his desire was that he should haue the praise of that conquest being onely worthy of himselfe. King *Philip* his father would not heretofore permit, that he should war against the *Albigeneses*, because he had promised the King of *Aragon*, to carry himselfe as a neuter betwixt both, but now hearing of the death of the said King of *Aragon*, he suffered him to goe. The Prince being at *Toulouze*, the citie was deliuered into his hands, and presently, the Legat, hauing assembled the Bishops of his ranke, it was concluded that the pillage should be granted to the Pilgrims, and that the city should be dismantled, the Castle of *Narbonne* excepted; which was incontinently executed, contrary to the promise which had beene giuen them, that nothing should be altered within the citie. This good vse did the Earle *Simon* make of the presence and forces of Prince *Lewis*, for otherwise, he durst not haue enterprised the saccage and dismantling of this goodly and great citie, without the endangering of his fortunes, were his forces neuer so great.

At this very time arriued *Bonaventure* the Popes new Legat, and of those that tooke on them the Crosse the Bishop of *Beauuois*, the Earle of *Saint Paul*, the Earle of *Sauoy*, the Earle of *Alençon*, the Vicount of *Melan*, *Mathew de Montmorenci*, and other great Lords
that

that accompanied him. The Legat seeing so many Pilgrims, began to feare lest Prince *Lewis* should dispose of diuers places which the *Albigeneses* held, to the preiudice of the Popes authoritie, vnder whose name all those conquests were made; for the auoiding whereof he sent vnto all those places that held for the said *Albigeneses*, the absolution and safeguard of the Church, in such sort that the Prince thinking to make an assault vpon any of them, they produced their absolution, and shewed that they were vnder the protection of the Church. And this Legat grew so audacious as to tell Prince *Lewis*, that since he was become a souldier of the Crosse, he was subiect to his commands, because he did represent the person of the Pope, whose pardons he was come to obtaine, by obeying the Church, not by commanding as the sonne of a King, reproching him besides, that the King his father made no account to contribute to the extirpation of the *Albigeneses*, when the time and season serued and there was best opportunity: but now after those victories miraculouly obtained, he came to gleane the eares of that glory, which was due vnto those only that had prodigally spent their liues for the Church. The Prince dissembled this audacious boldnesse. *Narbonne* was dismantled by the agreement of the said Prince, which neither the Legat nor the Earle *Simon*, would not haue durst to enterprise without his presence. The Bishop of *Narbonne* did what he could, to hinder the dismantling of it, affirming that it did much import, that a place in the frontiers of *Spaine* should bee preserved with the walles and rampiers thereof: but the Earle *Simon* and the Legat were very instant to the contrary, & they obtained their desires.

Here endeth the good fortune of the Earle *Simon*, for in the end of this leuy of Pilgrims which Prince *Lewis* brought with him, he had enough to doe to defend himselfe from blowes; notwithstanding the *Albingenses* were also wearied with continuall warres, and visited from time to time with new expeditions, inso- much that they sunke vnder the burthen of them. Now forasmuch as this warre changeth countenance in the person of the chiefe Leaders, and that from hence forward we shall speake more of the sonne of the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze* another *Remond*, and of *Roger* the sonne of the Earle of *Foix*, then of the old Earles: We here make a second booke of the actions of the children succeeding their fathers miserably afflicted only for that they had; for in effect there was not any of these great Lords, that was deseruedly assaulted for Religion, for many times they had their recourse to the Pope, as to the fountaine of all their euills,

and in all respects to a poore remedy, neuer bringing with them from *Rome*, other thing than good words, with very dangerous effects.

The end of the first booke.

THE



THE
SECOND BOOKE
OF THE HISTORY OF
the WALDENSES, called AL-
BINGENSES, containing the warres
which they maintained after the yeare
one thousand two hundred and thir-
teene, vntill they were utterly
exterminated.

CHAP. I.

The warre is renewed against the Earle of Foix: the Aragonians make hostile incursions vpon the Lands of the Earle Simon: he is discomfited by the Earle of Foix: Simon is called into Dauphine: The Legat Bonaventure perswades the Earle of Foix and of Toulouze to goe to Rome: they further their cause nothing at all: the sonne of the Earle Remond came from England thither, but in vaine.



HE Prince *Lewis* sonne of *Philip* King of *France*, his quarantine or fortie daies being expired, retired himselfe, nor without much discontent, to see, in those warres against the *Albingenses*, so much tyranny. The Earle *Simon* endeouored to get a pardon

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Hologaray in
his Hist. of
Foix, pag. 157.

Idem, fol. 158.

for those last Pilgrims come from *France* against the Earle of *Foix*. Hee besieged the Castle of *Foix*, but with his great losse; for there died before it many gallant men. Having laine before the Citie ten daies, hee raised his siege, finding to his great cost that the place was inexpugnable. The Earle *Simon* his Brother kept his quarter at *Varilles*: the Earle of *Foix* vnlodged him, slew with his Lance the said Brother of the Earle *Simon*, and put to flight his whole troope. This was a counterpoise to *Monfort* his prosperitie, which had made him ouer-insolent. And as one vnhappy chance comes seldome alone, euen then when he did grinde his teeth against the Earle of *Foix*, swearing that hee would make him flie ouer the *Pereney* mountaines; a messenger brought him tidings of the arriual in the Earledome of *Beziers*, and about *Carcaffonne*, of diuers troopes of *Arragonians*, and *Catalans*, who put all they met to sword and fire, saying, That they would reuenge the death of their good King *Alphonfus*: Hee was therefore aduertised, that if hee did not speedily succour them, the whole Country would be lost. He departed therefore from *Foix* with great diligence. The Earle of *Foix*, who better knew the streights and by-waies of his Country than he, stopped his passage, and lay in ambush for him in a place so fitting for his ouerthrow, that he slew a great part of his troopes, without any *Alarum*. Hee saued himselfe with a few of his people. Being come to *Carcaffonne*, it was well for him, that he found not a man to speake a word vnto, for the *Arragonians* had retired themselves; Whereas had they attended his coming, they might easily haue discomfited him, considering the small number that were with him. At this very time, other Letters were

were brought vnto him, whereby he was called into *Dauphine*, where there was one *Ademar* of *Poitiers*, and one *Ponce* of *Monlaur*, who hindered the passage of the Pilgrims, who came downe by the Riuer *Rhone*, and were conducted by the Archbishops of *Lion*, and *Vienne*. There were likewise the Cities of *Montel-Aimar* and *Crest Arnaud*, who tooke part with the *Albingenses*, who were a great hindrance to the Pilgrims. *Simon* came to treatie and composition with *Ademar* of *Poitiers* and *Monlaur*; not hauing power to encounter so many enemies. Againe, he was giuen to vnderstand, that the *Arragonians* were returned about *Carcaffonne*; and thither he came and was well beaten, insomuch that he was constrained to shut vp himselfe within *Carcaffonne*, hauing not wherewithall to keepe the field, before hee had new supply of Pilgrims to succour him. Seeing at the last that he got nothing of the Earle of *Foix* by armes, he had recourse to his ordinary wiles and subtilties, hoping to worke his ruine, vnder a pretence of amitie. He caused therefore the Legat *Benaudente* to write vnto him, that he had compassion on him, for that he was so obstinate in so great a warre, to his great charge, and the losse of the blood of his Subjects, which if he would he might end in a short time, by taking his iourney to *Rome*, & declaring his innocency to the Pope; that he would giue him his best assistance as far forth as possibly he could, to procure the restitution of all his Lands. But yet it was very necessarie that the Church should haue some gages of his fidelitie, that is, that he should deliuer into his hands the Castle of *Foix*, the one & onely meanes to take away all shadow and shew of false play, and that incontinently after his returne,

turne it should be restored vnto him with the rest of his houses.

He suffered himselfe to be cheated and gulled by these promises, deliuered vnto him the Castle of *Foix*, and tooke his iourney to *Rome*: but if he went a foole thither, a foole he returned. For the Legat had written to *Rome*, to the Conclauē and to the Pope, that the Earle of *Foix* was one of the most dangerous Heretiques that was amongst the *Albigenſes*, a man of great courage and valiant, and most to be feared: that if he were subdued, the Earle of *Toulouze* would be much weakened; that he had gotten from him the meanes to doe any hurt, by obtaining by faire words those places, which the Church would neuer haue gotten by armes, namely the Castle of *Foix*; and that they were to take heed that they made no restitution of his lands, which if they did, it would bee impossible that the Church should euer bring the *Albigenſes* to their vter ruine. The Pope was willing enough to ioyne in his ouerthrow, but because hee came vnto him with submissions, he feared least it might bee a meanes to hinder others from euer putting any confidence in the Pope. He was prodigall of his Croſſes, his Bulls, and his Words, but in effect he commanded his Legat, that he should not restore vnto him those places, vntill hee had giuen good proofes of his obedience and iustification. Presently vpon his returne hee addressed himselfe to the Legat, to enioy the effect of his faire promises. The Legat gaue him to vnderstand, that his hands were bound by the Pope, because there were some clauses in his Bulls that did binde him to a new proceeding, and to know in good earnest what his innocency was; but yet he should assure himselfe of his affecti-

affection, and that he should not attribute to him, if he receiued not his full content, and that he would doe his best endeouour to make loue and friendship betwixt the Earle *Simon* and himselfe. The Earle of *Foix*, by little and little with-drew himselfe, fearing to be arrested, walking about the fields and houses of his Subiects (as for his owne, they were all in the hands of the Earle *Simon*;) There he cursed his owne facilitie, to suffer himselfe to be gulled by a Priest, bites his fingers for anger to see himselfe so blockishly abused, after so many trickes and stratagems plaid against him. The Earle of *Toulouze*, and the King of *Aragon*, resolue to make a leuy of their Subiects, and presently to build a Fort at *Montgranier*, a place very strong by nature. In a few daies they made it a place of defence by the means & labours of their poore subiects, who bewailing their own miseries & their Lords, trauelled day & night very willingly, to bring the work to an end. This place being built, he put therein a garison, & left there his son *Roger*. The Earle *Simon* besieged it, & in the end took it by famine. The cōposition was, that *Roger* should not beare armes for one whole yeare against the Church. An Article that troubled much this valiant Lord. For he with-drew himselfe for the same yeare into a house, where he counted the moneths and the daies, till the time was expired wherein he might either die valiantly in fight, or vanquish his enemies. And to this purpose he many times conferred with the sonne of the King of *Aragon* lately slaine, how he might carrie himselfe to finde a meanes to be reuenged of his Fathers death.

The Legat *Bonanature* in the meane time, vseth the same subtletie with the Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*; He perswadeth him to goe to *Rome*, to determine his affaires

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Sernay. Chap.
133.

fares with the Pope more peaceably, than with the Earle *Simon*, especially because he was charged with the death of his owne Brother, the Earle *Bandoyn*, taken in the Castle *d'Olme*, in the Country of *Cahors*, because he had there borne Armes against him; an action that had made him odious both to God and men, and which his enemies did exaggerate, to the end they might stirre vp the Pilgrims, to take vengeance on him, saying, That at the very point of death they had denied him a Confessor, and that the said *Bodoyn* prayed vnto God that he would raise vp some good Christians to reuenge the wrong done vnto him by his brother, as by another *Caine*.

The son of the Earle of *Toulouze*, named also *Remond*, vnderstanding that his Father was to take his journey to *Rome*, he went with letters from his Vncle, the King of *England*, to the Pope, intreating him to doe iustice to his brother in Law. The young Lord had beene brought vp vntill then in *England*, where he could no longer spend time, seeing his Father oppressed with warres and continuall trauels, he therefore resolved to vse his best endeouours for his deliuerance, either by composition or by armes. The cause of the Earle *Remond* was debated before the Pope.

Idem. Chap. 152.

There was a Cardinall that maintained, that great wrong had beene offered those Lords, who had many times given of their best lands to the Church, to witnesse their obedience. The Abbot of *S. Vbert* also tooke their part, with great courage and resolution. The Earle *Remond* likewise defended his owne cause, charging the Bishop of *Toulouze*, with many outrages, and that if hee had beene constrained to defend himselfe, he must accuse those that had driuen him to that

that necessitie, for had he not made resistance, he had long agoe beene vtterly ouerthrowne. That the Bishop of *Toulouze* had many times caught vnto him the fairest of his reuenues, and being neuer satisfied, did still continue to vex him, parting his goods with the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort*; and that their onely avarice had beene the cause of the death of ten thousand men of *Toulouze*, and of the pillage of that faire and great Citie, a losse which could neuer be repaired. The Charterie of *Lion* did also shew vnto the Pope, that the Bishop of *Toulouze* had alwaies kindled the fire, and warmed himselfe at the flame.

Arnaud de Villemur did also present himselfe before the Pope, demanding Iustice, for that the Legat and the Earle *Simon* had inuaded his lands, he knew not wherefore, since he had neuer bin but obedient to the Church of *Rome*, relating at large the euils, murders, saccages, robberies, burnings, which the said Legat and Earle, vnder the cloake of the seruice of the Pope and the Church, had done; and therefore it was necessarie that that maske should be taken away, which would otherwise turne to the dishonour of the Pope and the Church, and some speedy course should be taken, for the establishing of peace, and procuring the good of the Church.

Remond of *Roquesueil* of the Country of *Querci*, related also many villanies committed by the said Earle of *Montfort*, beginning with that which had beene done against the Earle of *Beziens*, whom he caused miserably to die in prison, inuaded his Lands, and ruined his Subiects, and so proceeded to all that had passed against the other Lords, who were constrained to defend themselves against his violences.

Chass. lib. 4. lib. 1.

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The Pope was much moued with these outrages and would willingly haue done some iustice, but that it was told him, that if hee should cause the Earle of *Montfort*, to make restitution of that which was taken for the seruice of the Church, that he should not from hence-forward, finde any that would fight either for the Pope or the Church: As also, that if hee should determine the restitution, yet the Earle *Simon* had reason, not to giue ouer his hold, vntill hee were fully satisfied for his trauels and expences.

The Pope returned these affaires to the Legat, commanding him in generall termes, to restore the Lands to all those that shewed themselves faithfull to the Church, and as touching the sonne of the Earle *Remond*, his pleasure was, that that Land that the Earle *Remond* had in *Prouence*, that is to say, The Earldome of *Vemisse* should be reserved either in part or all for the maintenance of his sonne, provided that he gaue good and assured testimonies of his loyaltie and good conuersation, shewing himselfe worthy of diuine mercy.

They being returned, demanded of the Legat the execution of their Bulls, requiring the restitution of their Lands. The Legat answered, that he had certaine restraints, for the determining whereof there needed some time; that therefore they should in the meane time shew fruits worthy their amendment, and that then they should receiue what the Pope had decreed, otherwise not.

When the Earles saw how they were deluded, they resolved to come to blowes.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Remond the sonne of the Earle Remond tooke Beaucaire: The Bishop of Tholouze betrayeth the Citizens of Tholouze: The Earle Simon useth the Inhabitants of Tholouze very ill: They defend themselves to his confusion: A new expedition: Remond taketh Tholouze: Simon of Montfort comes thither, and after many combats, he is in the end slaine with a stone cast by a woman: His armie is put to flight.



He first exploit of warre of *Remond*, the sonne of the Earle *Remond*, was the taking of *Beaucaire*, where hee made himselfe Master of the Citie: afterwards hauing almost famished those in the Castle, the Earle *Simon* being no way able to succour them, made a composition for those that were within it, that is, that they should depart, onely carrying with them their baggage and necessary furniture. The Earle *Simon* lost at that place a hundred Gentlemen; which he laid in ambush, neere the Citie, which they within perceiuing, made a salley forth, and cut them in peeces. The young Earle *Remond* wonne great renowne at this siege, and gaue the Earle *Simon* to vnderstand, that his sonne *Aimeri* should haue in this young Lord, a thorne in his foot, that should make him smart as much, as in his time he had giuen cause of trouble and vexation to his father. The Earle *Montfort* went from hence to rauage and make spoile at *Tholouze*. The Bishop was gone thither before, and told the Consuls and Principall of the Citie, that they were to make their appearance before the Earle *Simon*. They went vnto him,

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but to their great losse, for they were no sooner come before the Earle, but hee commanded them all to bee bound with cords; whereof some taking notice, that had meanes to escape to the Citie, an alarme was given within the Citie, so hor, that before his arrivall all the people were in armes: but being entred by the Castle *Narbonne*, they reconered certaine Towers which were yet remaining, and put themselves into certaine places, and having already begun to pillage neere the Castle *Narbonne*, the people fortified themselves, and gaue the chase with such violence to those Boot-haylers and Fire-houses, who had already set fire on some houses, that they draue them to the Castle of *Narbonne*. The Earle *Guy* came vpon the very instant of this combat, to the succour of his brother the Earle *Simon*, but after he had fought a while, hee was faine in the end to flye to his brother. A great part of the people of the Earle *Simon* were enforced to retire themselves to *S^t. Steuens*, and the Tower of *Miscaro*, and the Bishops house, where a great number were slaine. The Bishop, who knew that he had beene the cause of this misfortune, hauing counselled the Citizens to make their appearance before the Earle *Simon*, and the Earle *Simon* to cease vpon them, still continuing his treasons, went forth of the Castle *Narbonnes*, ranne it to the streets, crying out vnto the people to pacifie themselves, for the Earle determined to end these differences with mildnesse and gentlenesse, and that they should not refuse the wayes of peace. He alleadged so many matters vnto them, that in the end they gaue eare vnto him, and were willing to hearken to a reconciliation; seeing themselves dismantled and brought vnder the subiection of a Castle & strong garrison, and know-

knowing too well, that at the first succours of the Pilgrims, their Citie would be exposed to pillage. When they were to know the conditions of their peace, the first Article was: That the Earle *Simon* would yeeld to nothing, before all the Inhabitants had carryed their armes to the Towne-house. This point was hardly obtained, but at the last they yeilded vnto it: which being done, the Earle *Simon* caused his people to make their approach, and so being seized on the Towne-house against a people disarmed, and hauing conuayed their Armour to the Castle *Narbonnes*, hee imprisoned the principall men of the Citie, and caused them to bee sent out of *Toulouze* whither hee thought good, being so vnciuilly vsed, and with such inhumane cruelties, that a great number died by the way. Thus was *Toulouze* dispeopled of it principall Inhabitants, and the rest put to their ransome, whereby the Earle *Simon* did greatly enrich himselfe. And shortly after returning from the Countie *Bigorre*, where hee could not take the Castle of *Lourde*, he discharged his choller vpon this poore Citie, permitting it to be pillaged by his Pilgrims, and then caused the rest of the Towers that were yet about the Citie to be beaten downe.

In this meane time, the poore Earle of *Toulouze* was at *Mountauban*, who vnderstanding of the bad vsage of his miserable subiects, for certaine moneths could not but bewaile their lamentable estate with sighs and teares.

At this time, that is to say, in the yeere one thousand, two hundred and fourteene, the Legat held a Councell at *Montpelier*, for the renewing of the Armie of the Church, and to confirme the authoritie of the Earle *Simon*. The Monke of *Sernay* saith, that he was there

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See *Paulus Emil.* in the
life of *Philip Ang.*

The Monke
of the Valleis
Sernay, chap.
146.

declared Prince of all the conquered Countries of the *Albingenses*, and that by a common consent, they sent *Barnard* Archbishop of *Ambrun* to the Pope, to petition his Holinesse, in the name of the Prelats who were present at that Councell, that the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort* might by him be pronounced Lord and Monarch of all the conquered Countries of the *Albingenses*, which was done.

The Councell sent vnto him to come and receiue this dignitie of Prince and Monarch. He entred into the Citie, and being in the Church of our Lady *des Tables*, where the Prelats of the said Councell were to pronounce their sentence in fauour of the said *Montfort*; they heard a rumor in the Citie. They sent to know what the matter was: It was told them, that the people had vnderstood, that the Earle *Simon* of *Montfort* was within the Citie, and that thereupon they betooke themselues to their armes, purposing to kill him, as being their capitall enemy. He was aduised to steale away along by the walls of the Citie, and to saue himselfe, for feare lest the whole Councell suffered with him. He went therefore on foot, without companie, lest he should haue bene knowne at the Gate, and so he escaped this great danger. So that he saw himselfe in one houre honored almost as a God, chosen and saluted Prince and Monarch, and to flie disguised, and to hide himselfe like a base scoundrell, for feare of the rascall people.

The Monke
of the Valleis
Sernay, chap.
148.

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In regard of the resolution of this Councell, the Pope euer writ vnto him, as to a Monarch, stiling him, *The active dexterious Souldier of Iesus Christ. The invincible defender of the Catholike faith.* And in the yeere one thousand two hundred and fiteene, he sent him

him a Bull, dated the fourth of the Nones of Aprill, by which hee giues him authoritie to keepe all those lands hee had gotten vnder his power, granting vnto him the reuenues, profits and power to administer iustice, considering (saith the Pope) that you neither can, nor ought to make warre at your owne charge. This the Popes bountie of another mans purse, in a businesse where he had nothing to giue, made him to goe to the King of *France*, to bee inuested into the Dukedome of *Narbonnes*, the Earledome of *Toulouse*, together with all the lands, which the Souldiers of the Crosse had conquered and taken from those they call Heretikes, or the Protectors of them, which he obtained of the King to hold in fee. The Monke saith, it was not possible for him to relate the honor which was donne vnto him vpon his way going to *France*, there being neither Citie nor Towne through which he passed, where the Clergie and people came not to see him, crying out; Blessed is hee that comes in the name of God. For such and so great (saith he) was the deuout Religion of the people towards him, that there was not any that thought not himselfe happy to touch the hem of his garments.

The Monke
of the Valleis
Sernay, Chap.
153.

In the yeere one thousand, two hundred and sixteene, hee returned from *France* with an hundred Bishops, who had caused this expedition of the Crosse to bee preached in their Bishoprikes, being resolved with this great Armie to make himselfe Master, Prince and Monarch, of all those lands which the Pope had giuen him. And to make it apparant that he had not treated or made any agreement with *Girard Ademar*, or *Guitaud* Lord of *Monteil-Aimar*, nor with *Aimar* of *Poitiers*, but vntill such time as hee had power

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of the Valleis
Sernay, Chap.
161.

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to deuoure them, he passed the *Rhosne* at *Viuers*, and besieged *Monteil-Aimar*. *Guitaud* or *Girard* made great resistance; but when the Inhabitants saw the great Armie of Pilgrims, they entreated their Lord to come to composition, for feare lest the Citie should be pillaged. Which hee did, though it were with the losse of his Castle. From thence he went and besieged the Tower of *Crest-Arnaud*, belonging to *Aimar* of *Poitiers*. He that commanded within, did yeeld it vp out of cowardlinesse, for otherwise it had bene impossible the Pilgrims should haue taken it. Afterwards the Earle *Simon* gaue a daughter of his to a sonne of the said *Poitiers*, and there was peace concluded betwixt the said *Poitiers* and the Bishop of *Valence*, against whom hee had a long time before made cruell warre. A little before, the Earle *Simon* had married one of his sonnes to the daughter of *Dauphin* of *Viennois*, and another to the Countesse of *Bigorre*. All which alliances did fortifie him much against his enemies. All men trembled before him; and with this great Armie of Pilgrims that followed him, he tooke *Pesquieres* neere to *Nismes*, and *Bezonce*, and put all to the sword hee found within, not sparing the women. Hee tooke his way to *Toulouze*, to pillage and to raze it, and to seeke the Earle of *Toulouze*, even to the center of the Earth, if he were there to be found; at which time hee receiued letters from his wife, aduertising him that hee should speedily come to deliuer her from the hands of the Earle of *Toulouze*, who had besieged her in the Castle *Narbonnes*, that hee was very strong and had all the people at his deuotion, who had receiued him with great applause, crying out with a loude voice, Long liue the Earle of *Toulouze*. That he was accompanied with

with his Nephew, the Earle of *Comminge*, *Gaspar de la Barre*, *Bertrand de Iorda*, *Engarrand of Gordo*, Lord of *Caraman*, *Armand de Montagn*, and *Estephe de la Valette*, all braue and valiant men and well accompanied.

This was about the end of the yeere one thousand two hundred seuentee, that the Earle *Remond* entered into *Toulouze*, the Drumme beaten, the Ensignes displayed, and the Trumpets sounding. The people pressing to cast themselues downe at his feet, to embrace his legges, and to kisse the hem of his garment, and killing as many as they found in the Citie, that tooke part with the Earle of *Montfort*. Whereas, had the Earle *Simon* come directly to *Montanban*, at his returne from *France*, the Earle *Remond* could not haue told what to haue done, but he stayed at *Monteil-Aimar* and *Crest-Arnaud*, and *Besinee*, and *Pasquieres*, and made delaies about the mariages so long, that the Earle had time to gather his troopes together, and to prepare himselfe for a strong assault. In such sort, that when hee was aduertised that hee was at *Toulouze*, the greater part of his Pilgrims were returned into *France*. But yet it was necessary hee should goe to *Toulouze* with those forces that he had: for his wife was in danger to be lost. And hee that had bene the death of so many women and children, was doubtfull what would become of his, falling into the hands of his enemies.

The Earle *Remond* created an officer, which they called *Vignier*, or *Prouost*, to whom all were bound to obey, vpon paine of death. This was the first *Vignier* that was established at *Toulouze*. His charge was to prouide for the defence of the Citie, to keepe the Moates or Ditches cleane, to repaire the breaches, to

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appoint to euery one his quarter, and his Captaine, especially in times of combat. There came from all parts, troopes of succours to the Earle *Remond* of those that desired consideration for the violencies of the Earle *Simon*.

The Earle *Guy* was one of the first in the combat, for his brother the Earle *Simon*, but he was beaten and put to flight: The Archbishop of *Aix*, and of *Armag-nac*, with their Pilgrims retired themselves without fight. The Earle *Simon* being come, made shew to besiege *Toulouze*: but the frequent issues of those that were within, gaue him to vnderstand, that it was not for his good. He assembled therefore the Prelats and Lords, to take aduise of what was to bee done. The Legat perceiuing the Earle *Simon* somewhat astonished, said vnto him. Feare nothing, for in a short time wee shall recouer the Citie, and put to death, and destroy all the Inhabitants; and if any of the Souldiers of the Crosse shall die in this pursuir, they shall passe to Paradice as Martyrs, and hereof they shall assure themselves. To whom one of the great Capitaines answered, Monsieur Cardinall, you talke with great assurance, but if the Earle beleue you, it will be little for his profit. For you and all the other Prelats, and men of the Church, haue beene the cause of all this euill and ruine, and will bee yet more if he beleue you.

It was no time for Monsieur the Cardinall to bee offended with this audacious reply, but he must needs sup vp this censure. The resolution was, that there should be no more any assault giuen, but that the Citie should bee besieged on the side of *Gasconne*. For which cause the Earle of *Montfort* caused one part of
his

his Armie, to passe the Riuer *Garonne*, towards *S^t. Soubra*, now they within the Citie made so blunt a salley, and to such purpose, that they put their enemies to flight. During this combat, came the Earle of *Foix* with his fresh troopes, as well of his subiects, as *Narricans* and *Catalans*, who violently set vpon the Earle *Montfort*, pursuing him euen to the brinke of *Garonne*, where with affrightment and precipitation, they cast themselves in heapes into their Boats, and many were drowned in the Riuer. The Earle *Simon* also fell in, all armed, with his horse, and hardly escaped.

The Earle *Remond* caused a generall assembly to bee made at *S^t. Saornin*, wherein hee exhorted the people to giue thanks vnto God for this happy beginning of victorie, which they had obtained against their enemies, which was a testimonie of Gods loue, and that they should hope for better: hee exhorted euery one to giue their helping hands to build and to prepare, and to cause their warlike engins to play against the Castle *Narbonnes*, because this place being last by the enemy, their totall ruine must needs follow, and being once recovered by them, they should be in safetie. In a very short time were their wooden engins to cast stones, their Slings, their Mangonnels to dart their Arrowes, their Fowlers, Crossebowes and other Instruments which were in vse in those times prepared, and all of them mounted against the Castle *Narbonnes*; which made those to tremble that were within.

The Earle *Montfort* being at *Montolieu*, tooke counsell how to carry himselfe in this tedious siege, and against enemies so animated. The Bishop of *Toulouze* said vnto him, to comfort him, that hee was to take a

good heart vnto him, for Monsieur the Cardinall had sent letters and messengers throughout the world, to giue him succours, and that shortly he should haue so many people, that hee should not want power to doe what he would. The abouenamed *Robert de Pequigni* answered him, that hee spake his pleasure, and that if the Earle of *Adonfort* had not beleued him nor any such, hee had not beene in those troubles that now hee was, but hee had beene at peace within *Toulouze*, and that hee was the cause of that danger they now were in, and of the death of so many people as were continually slaine by the wicked counsell that hee had giuen.

After many combats, the winter grew on, and stayed the course of the besiegers, who withdrawing themselves to couert where they could about *Toulouze*, expected with good denotation, and much impatience, new succours of Pilgrims. The Earle *Remond* on the other side, inclosed the Citie with a Rampier, and fortified himselfe against the Castle *Narbonnes*, and prepared to receiue the Pilgrims whensoever they should present themselves vnto them. In this meane time hee sent his sonne to seeke for succours. In the end, about the Spring time, in the yeere one thousand two hundred and eightene, there came to the Earle *Simon*, an hundred thousand Souldiers of the Crosse, and to the Earle *Remond*, great succours from *Gascogne*, conducted by *Narcis de Montesquieu*. As also the young *Remond* of *Toulouze*, and *Arnaud de Villemur* brought vnto him goodly troopes. This great multitude of Pilgrims being come, the Legat and the Earle *Simon* thought good they should earne their pardon, knowing that at the end of fortie daies, this great

great cloude of Pilgrims would vanish. They therefore commanded them, instantly to giue a generall scalado, which was deferred to the next morning, by which time they had other worke to doe; for the very first night of their arriual, putting their confidence in their great multitude, they kept no good guard. Which the Earle of *Toulouze* perceiuing, made a salley out vpon them, and that with so good successe, that the next morning all the field was couered with dead bodies. The *Toulouzains* being wearie with killing, returned to giue thanks vnto God for his assistance.

The Earle *Simon* entred the Castle *Narbonnes*, to descric whether from thence there were any way to inuade the Citie, but finding none, it much troubled him, whereupon two of his Lords of the Crosse, gaue him aduice to come to some honourable agreement. The Cardinall *Bertrand* told them, there needed no speech of that, and that the Church could saue them in despite of them, if they spake any thing to the advantage of the *Albingenses*. One amongst them answered: *And where finde you (Monsieur Cardinall) that without cause and reason, you should take from the Earle Remond and his sonne, that which belongs vnto them. If I had vnderstood as much as I now know (saith he) I had neuer made this voyage.*

The whole Countrie was enemy to the Earle *Simon*, which was the cause of the famine in his Armie; but on the contrary, there was within *Toulouze* all plenty and abundance. Vpon *S^t. Iohn the Baptists* Eue, betimes in the morning, the troopes of the Earle *Remond* went forth of *Toulouze*, crying out *Auignon, Beaucaire, Muret and Toulouze*, killing as many as they encountered. A Souldier ranne to the Earle *Simon* and told him,

*Noguiers in
his History of
Toulouze.
lib. 3. chap. 10.*

him that the enemy was come forth; to whom he answered, that he would first see his Redeemer, and then see his enemy. Divers others came vnto him, crying out, Wee are vndone, if no man will come out and command the Armie which did flie before the *Toulouzains*. He againe answered, that he would not stirre a foot from the Masse, though he were there to die, before hee had seene his Maker; insomuch, that had not the Priest that sung the Masse clipt and curtoll'd it a little, for feare lest his eares should haue beene clipt, he had beene taken or slaine before the Altar. Heare what *Noguiers* saith: At this so violent a shooke, the Earle *Simon* being mounted his horse, his horse was wounded in the middle of his head with an Arrow, which the horse feeling, got presently the bit betweene his teeth, in such sort, that *Monfort* could neuer stay him, but hee carryed him here and there in despite of himselfe, which a Souldier of the Citie seeing, assuring himselfe of him, shot him with his Crosse-bow through the thigh, with which wound *Monfort* lost great store of blood, and finding himselfe much payned therewith, entreated the Earle *Guy* his brother, to leade him forth of the presse, to stench his blood. In the time whilest hee was talking with his brother, a stone out of a sling or engine, whereout stones or arrowes were darted, which a woman (thinking nothing let flie) hit *Monfort*, yet talking with his brother, and parted his head from his shoulders, so that his body fell dead to the ground. It was (saith he) a wonderfull thing, and thereby may his successors consider, that they maintained an vniust quarrell, not to punish those that were wandred from the faith, for that had beene a thing very commendable and commodious; but to oppress

opresse his owne vassals, heaping on them miseries vpon miseries, to ravish women and their daughters, to the end they might vterly ruine and confound them all, especially doing the duty of vassals, and to retaine the goods of another, who though hee were an Heretike, as *Monfort* supposed, yet neuerthelesse in the twinkling of an eye, he might be better aduised, and amend his life. But as I thinke (saith hee) a couetous desire to raigne blinded him, which wee may easily iudge, by the bad vsage, oppressions and extortions which he executed against the innocent people of *Toulouze*, who honored him, cherished, and wished him prosperitie, as to their Lord. This skirmish and discomfiture was in June, the day after the feast of *S^t. John the Baptist*, in the yeere 1218.

Thus you see how *Noguiers*, the Historiographer of those times hath spoken of this man, as of one that was caried with passion and vnsatiable couetousnesse: But that which was worthy the obseruation, is, that he was not ouerthrowne, but at that very instant, when by three diuers Councils, he had beene proclaimed the Monarch of his conquests, the Captaine of the Armies of the Church, the sonne, the seruant, the fauorite thereof, the defender of the faith. Adored of the people, feared of the great, the terror of Kings. Thus you see, that as that ambitious Paracide *Abimelech* was slaine with a peece of a Mill-stone which a woman cast from a Tower, which brake his skull; so this destroyer of the people, ruiner of Cities, deuourer of the states of other men, was slaine with a stone from a sling, flung by a woman, as some Historiographers haue obserued.

On the the other side the Monke cries out in this man-

1218.

*Indiges 9.**Chass. lib. 4 c. 11.*

manner : who is hee that can write or heare (saith hee) that which followeth ? that can recite it without grieve ? that can lend his eares without sighs and groanings ? who, I say, will not dissolve and consume away to nothing, seeing the life of the poore to be taken away ? he, who being laid in the dust, all things are trampled vnder foot ? and by the death of whom all is dead ? Was he not the comfort of the sorrowfull, the strength of the weake, a refreshing to the afflicted, a refuge to the miserable ? He had some reason to speake thus ; for he being dead, all his Armie was dissolved and scattered abroad. The Legat *Bonaventure* had one-ly leasure to tell *Aimeri of Montfort*, that hee was named by him and the Bishops that were present, Successor of the conquests and charges of his father the Earle *Simon*, and instantly they betooke them to their heeles, flying with all the Bishops of the Crosse to *Carcaffonne*, not staying in any place, so great was their astonishment, fearing to bee pursued. The Pilgrims disbanded themselues, saying they were no longer bound to any fight, their fortie daies being almost expired. In the time of this confusion, the Earle *Remond* sallied out of *Toulouze*, and gaue so furious a charge vpon the Enemy, that he made them to forsake their trenches, and slew a great number of Pilgrims, who were without conduct, and without courage, inso much that they killed and cut in pieces all that were in the Campe of *Montelieu*, and did a great deale of hurt and hinderance to those that were incamped at *S^t. Sobra* : There remained the Castle *Narbonnes*, which as yet held for the Legat. *Aimeri of Montfort* as speedily as he could gather as many of his troopes together as he was able, in this so great a rupture and confusion, and making

making haste to the Castle, got out the Garrison by a false doore, and so fled after the Legat, carrying the body of his father with great speed to *Carcaffonne*. And it was well for him, that the Earle *Remond* pursued him not, for the feare thereof was sufficient to kill the Pilgrims that accompanied him. But the Earle *Remond* retired himselfe with his troopes, to provide for the preservation of the Citie and the Castle *Narbonne*, vnto which the enemy had set fire when they left it. Moreouer, he caused the Bell to bee tolled, to gather the people together, to giue thanks vnto God in their Temple, for the happy and miraculous victorie which they had obtained, for that this audacious Cyclops was ouerthrowne, that had exposed them many times to pillage, razed their walls, beaten downe their rampiers, destroyed their Towers, violated their wiues and daughters, killed their Citizens, cut downe their trees, spoyled their land, and brought their whole Countrey to extreme desolation.

Chass. lib. 4. c. 10.
pag. 222.

CHAP. III.

The Earle *Remond* recovereth all that the Earle *Simon* had taken from him in *Agenois* : The Earle of *Foix* takes *Mirepoix* from *Roger de Leni* : The Earle of *Comminge* his lands, which one named *Ioris*, detained from him : An aduantageous encounter for the *Albingenses* in *Lauragues* : Expeditions of small effect after the death of the Earle *Simon*. The Prince *Lewis* tooke *Marmande*, and returned into France, hauing summoned *Toulouze* to yeeld it selfe.

Holagaway in
his history of
Foix. 162.



He Earle *Remond* followed the victory, making himselfe Master of the Castle of *Narbonnes*, and fortifying it against the Pilgrims, which hee knew very well would come the yeere following, in the meane time hee sent his sonne into *Agenois*, who brought vnto the obedience of his father *Condon*, *Marmande*, *Aguillon*, and other places adioyning. On the other side, the Earle of *Foix* besieged *Mirepoix*, summoned *Roger de Leni* to restore it vnto him, telling him that hee was not now to hope any longer in the Earle *Simon*, for he was dead: that it must content him that he had now long enough and vniustly kept that which was his. That if he changed his patience into furie, he would lose both his life and *Mirepoix* altogether. It troubled much the Marshall of the Faich (for that was the vaine title which the Legats had giuen him) to yeeld vp this place; but in the end he deliuered it into the hands of the Earle of *Foix*.

The Earle of *Comminge* had also his right of one *Ioris*, to whom the Legats had giuen all that the Souldiers of the Crosse had taken in his Countries; for he tooke them all from him, yea, life and all.

1219.

At the spring of the yeere following, 1219, *Almaric* or *Aimeri* of *Montfort*, came into *Agenois*, with some troopes of Souldiers of the Crosse, to recouer that which his father had there possessed, and for this cause hee besieged *Marmande*. The young Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*, went to succour the besieged, when the Earle of *Foix* writ vnto him that hee had gotten a great bootie in *Lauragues*, both of people and beasts, but he feared hee should not bring it to *Toulouze*, and

not

not be fought withall by the way, by the Garrison of *Carcaffone*, and therefore hee entreated him to succour him. Young *Remond* tooke his iourney towards him, and came in so good an houre to the Earle *Foix*, that being vpon the point of losing his booty, being followed by the Vicount of *Lantrec*, and the Captaines *Faucant* and *Valas*. Being come to the combur, the said *Faucant* and *Valas* encouraged with a loud voice their Pilgrims, saying, that they fought for Heaven and for the Church: The young Earle *Remond* hearing it, cryed vnto his as loud as he: Courage my friends, for we fight for our Religion, and against theeues and robbers, vnder the name of the Church: They haue robbed enough, let vs make them vomit it vp againe, and pay the arrerages of their thefts, which they haue heretofore freely committed. And hereupon they gaue the Charge. The Vicount of *Lantrec* fled, *Faucant* was taken prisoner, and all their troopes cut in peeces. *Seguret* a Captaine and professed robber was taken and hanged in the field vpon a tree. Thus victorious, and laden with bootie, they came to *Toulouze* with their prisoners and cattell. The siege of *Marmande* continued, but vnprofitably, and without any aduantage. For *Almaric* hauing caused a generall assault to be made, the inhabitants defended themselves with such valour and resolution, that the ditches were full of the dead bodies of the Pilgrims. This was at that time when the great expedition of Prince *Lewis* arrived, who brought with him thirtie Earles. An expedition for the leuying whereof, the Legat *Bertrand* writ in these termes to King *Philip*: Faile you not to be in the quarters of *Toulouze* for the whole moneth of May, in the yeere 1219. with all your forces and

Chaff. lib. 4.
chap. 13.

O o o 2

" powers,

" powers, to reuenge the death of the Earle *Montfort*,
 " and I will procure that the Pope shall publish and
 " preach the Croisade, or expedition of Christians,
 " throughout the world, for your better aid and suc-
 " cours. Thus you see how the Legat commands the
 King of *France*. His sonne arriued at *Marmande*, and
 summoned those within to yeeld. They compound
 with him, and he promifeth them their liues. *Almaric*
 complaines thereof, saying, That they were not wor-
 thy of life, that tooke away his Fathers. He assemblith
 the Prelats, declareth vnto them the discontent which
 he receiued by this composition, in that life was gran-
 ted vnto those, who were the murderers of his Father.
 The Prelats were all of opinion, that notwithstanding
 the word giuen, they should all die. Prince *Lewis* his
 will was, that the composition should hold. *Almaric*
 neuerthelesse, caused his troopes to slip into the Citie,
 with charge to kill all, men, women and children.
 They doe it, whereat the Prince being offended, de-
 parted from the Legat and *Almaric*, and passing a-
 long summoned those of *Toulouze* to yeeld. They
 defend themselves against him. Hee receiueh newes
 of the death of his father, which caused him to retire.
 Thus you see all the effects of this great expedition,
 which should haue buried all the *Albingenses* aliue, and
 vanished without any assault giuen.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

*The warre of the Albingenses changeth countenance, be-
 cause of the death of Pope Innocent the third; of the
 change of the Legat; the death of the Earle Remond
 of Toulouze; of the disease of Remond Earle of Foix,
 and the Lady Philippe de Moncade, mother to the
 Earle of Foix, and of the Monke Dominick.*



He Legat *Bertrand Bonauenture*, being
 weary of the long labours of this
 warre, and perceiuing that therein
 the danger was greater, than either
 the pleasure or the profit, tooke oc-
 casion vnder a pretence of his de-
 crepit age, to retire himselfe to *Rome*; euen at that time,
 when Pope *Innocent* the third being departed, Pope
Honorius his successour, who had not managed this
 warre by his authoritie, from the beginning thereof,
 knew neither the importance thereof, nor what directi-
 on to giue, and therefore had need to be enformed by
 his Legat, touching the meanes of the continuance
 thereof, and the commoditie that might arise vnto his
 Seat. *Bonauenture* entreated him to depute another
 Legat, and told him, that the necessitie of this warre
 was such, that it concerned not onely the losse of all
 those Lands of the *Albingenses*, which were conque-
 red, because they might be easily recovered by them,
 if no opposition were made, but also the ruine of the
 Church of *Rome*, because the Doctrine of the *Walden-
 ses* and *Albingenses*, did directly shake the authoritie of
 the Popes, and ouerthrow the Statutes of the Church:

O o o 3

That

That this warre had beene very chargeable, and cost them deere, for within the space of fifteene yeares and lesse, there had died about three hundred thousand souldiers of the *Crosse*, that at diuers times had come to end their liues in *Languedoc*, as if there were not enough else-where to burie them, or as if there were a necessitie in those times, to be borne in *France*, and to dye encountering the *Albigeneses*. That all this would be lost, if they continued not to spend and weaken them, vntill they were vtterly destroyed. The Pope delegated one named *Contat*, who went thither.

Now albeit *Almeric* were very valiant, yet he had not gotten that authoritie which his Father had, who had made him selfe, at the charges of the *Albigeneses*, a great Captaine, loued of the Souldier, of an admirable valour, patient in affliction, inuincible in his trauels, diligent in his enterprises, fore-seeing and providing, for the necessities of an Armie, affable; but of an vnreconcilable enmitie against his enemies, because he hated them onely to haue their goods, and that he could not haue but after their death, which he procured and hastned as much as he could, and that vnder the mantell of a plausible pretence of religion. His sonne was a true inheritor of the hatred of his father; but slow and sluggish, louing his ease, and no way fit for an action of great importance. Besides, he was deprivied of the Monke *Dominique*, of whom his Father had made very profitable vse: for lodging him in the conquered Cities, he gaue him in charge to finish that destruction by his inquisition, which he could not doe by warres. He died in the yeare 1220. the sixt of August, so rich that notwithstanding he were the author of an order mendicant, that is to say, of *Iacobin*

cobin Monkes, or *Iacobins*, yet he made it knowne before his death, that a scrip well ordered was better than a rent ill assigned; for hee left many houses and much goods, shewing thereby that he vsed his scrip but for a shew and outward appearance of pouertie; but in effect he thought it good, to haue wherewithall to liue else-where, witnesse the Protection which the Earle *Simon* gaue him a little before his death, whereof this is the tenure.

Simon by the Grace and providence of God, Duke of Narbonnes, Earle of Toulouze, Vicount of Licestre, Beziers, and Carcassonne, wissheth health and dilection. We will and command you to haue a speciall care to keepe and defend the houses and goods of our most deare brother Dominick, as our owne. Given at the siege of Toulouze, Decemb. 13.

After the Historie of the Monke of the valley Sernay.

The death of this Monke was a great comfort to the *Albigeneses*, who had persecuted them with such violence, but yet they were more weakned by the death of the Earle *Remond* of Toulouze, the Earle *Remond* of Foix, and the Ladie *Philippe* of Moncade, Wife to *Remond* Earle of Foix.

The Earle *Remond* of Toulouze died of a sicknesse, much lamented of his Subjects, if ever man were. He was iust, gentle, valiant and couragious, but yet too easie to giue eare vnto those that gaue him counsell for his ruine. Hee was carried at the first by a true loue and charitie onely towards those his Subjects, that made profession of the Religion of the *Albigeneses*, but afterwards hauing beene basely and dishonorably handled by the Legats of the Pope, he knew both the crueltie of the Priests, and the falshood of their doctrine, by those conferences that had beene in his presence

sence with the Pastors of the *Albingenses*. His Epitaph was written in two *Gascon* verses.

*Non y a home sur terre, per grand Segnor que fous,
Qu'emiettes de ma terre, si Gleisa non fous.*

He that writes the Historie of *Languedoc*, saith, That he died a sudden death, and that hee was carried into the house of the Friars of the Hospital *S. John*, and that he was not buried, because he died an excommunicate person. There was shewed not long since at *Toulouze* a head, which some did beleue was the head of the Earle *Remond*, which was said to be alwaies without a sepulture; but there is no likelihood that he that died amongst his owne, and being Ruler ouer them, should not haue so much credit after his death, as to bee put into a Sepulcher: that he that by his valour had restored all his Subiects to their houses, and their Citie to it former greatnesse, he whose death they lamented as a Father, should be cast out like a Dogge. It is neither true nor hath it any resemblance of truth, that they should deny him this last office of charitie, which they haue not refused to bestow vpon their greatest enemies, for it was neuer heard of that the *Albingenses* haue denied sepulture vnto any.

As touching the Earle of *Foix*, *Remond*, he was a Prince of whom the Historie giues this testimony, that he was a Patron of Iustice, clemency, prudence, valour, magnanimitie, patience and continency; a good Warriour, a good Husband, a good Father, a good House-keeper, a good Iusticer, worthy to haue his name honoured, and his vertues remembred throughout all generations. When this good Prince saw that he was to change the earth for heauen, he desired death with


Halaga pag. 164

an assured constant carriage, and tooke comfort in forsaking the world, and the vanities thereof, and calling his sonne *Roger* vnto him, hee exhorted him to serue God, to liue vertuously, to gouerne his people like a Father, vnder the obedience of his Lawes, and so gaue vp the ghost. His Wife the Lady *Philippe* of *Montcade*, followed him shortly after, not without suspicion of poyson, by some domesticall enemy of the *Albingenses*, whose religion she professed with all deuotion. A Princeesse of a great and admirable prouidence, faith, constancy, and loyaltie. She vttered before her death many excellent sentences, full of edification, as well in the *Castilian* tongue, as the *French*, in contempt of death, which she receiued with a marvellous grace, fortifying her speeches with most Christian consolations, to the great comfort and edification of all that were present, and in this estate she changed her life.

All these deaths made a great alteration in the wars of the *Albingenses*, both on the one side and the other.

CHAP. V.

Almaric of Montfort restored to King Lewis the eight, the conquered Countries of the Albingenses: the siege of Auignon: the King appointeth a Gouvernor in Languedoc. The warre continues against the Albingenses: Toulouze is besieged: a treatie of peace with the Earle Remond and the Toulouzains.

 *Almaric of Montfort* had not the fortune of his Father in the warres of the *Albingenses*. For he had neither King *Philip Auguste*, who permitted the leuie of the Pilgrims, nor Pope *Innocent* the

the third to appoint them. Moreouer, there was neither Citie nor Village in *France*, where there were not widowes and fatherlesse children, by reason of the passed warres of the *Albigenſes*. And beſides all this, the Prelats were many times put into great feares, by thoſe cruell combats that were ordinarily made; and many of them left behinde them their Miters, and ſome Abbots their Croſſes. The ſpeech of the expeditions of the Croſſe was not ſo common. This was the cauſe why *Almaric* did not long enioy his conquered Countries, wherewith being much afflicted, hee went into *France*, and deliuered vp vnto *Lewis* the eight of that name, King of *France*, all the right that he had to the ſaid Countries, which the Pope, the Councels of *Vaur*, *Montpelier*, and *Lotran* had granted vnto him: and in recompence thereof, King *Lewis* created him Conſtable of *France*, in the yeare 1224.

Inventory of
Serres, in the
life of Lewis
the eight.

1224.

To put himſelfe into poſſeſſion, King *Lewis* the eight came into *Languedoc*, and comming to the gates of *Auignon*, he was denied entrance, becauſe profeſſing the Religion of the *Albigenſes*, they had beene excommunicated, and giuen by the Pope to the firſt Conquerour: for then *Auignon* was no chiefe Citie of the Earldome of *Veneſſin*, as at this preſent, but belonged to the King of *Naples* and *Sicily*. The King being much moued with this deniall, reſolved to beſiege it, which continued for the ſpace of eight moneths, in the end whereof they yeilded themſelues about Whiſontide, in the yeare 1225.

1225.

During this ſiege, almoſt all the cities of *Languedoc*, acknowledged the king of *France*, by the mediation of M^r. *Amelin*, Archbiſhop of *Narbonne*. The King eſtabliſhed for Gouvernour in *Languedoc*, *Imbert* de

de Beauieu, and tooke his way to *France*: but hee died by the way at *Montpenſier* in September, in the yeare 1226.

The young *Remond*, Earle of *Toulouze*, was bound by promiſe to the king, to goe to receiue his abſolution of Pope *Honorius*, and afterwards he ſhould giue him peaceable poſſeſſion of all his lands: but the death of the king in the meane time happening, he ſaw the Realme of *France* in the hands of king *Lewis*, a childe and in his minority, and the regency in the power and gouernment of his mother. Hee thought that hauing to deale with an infant king, and a woman regent, he might recouer by force that which he had quit himſelfe of by agreement. He therefore reſolved to take armes, being encouraged thereunto, by the ſuccours of the *Albigenſes* his ſubiects, who were in great hope to maintaine their part in ſtrength and vigor, during the Non-age of the King of *France*, but they were deceiued in their proiect. For though *Lewis* the ninth were in his minority, yet he was ſo happie as to haue a wife and a prudent mother, if euer there were any. For King *Lewis* the eighth, before his death, had appointed her the Tutrix or Gardianeſſe of his ſonne, and Regent of the Realme, knowing very well her great capacity and ſufficiency. Beſides *Imbert de Beauieu* maintained the authority of the king in *Languedoc*, tooke armes, and made oppoſition againſt the Earle *Remond*, and the *Albigenſes*. The Queene ſent him diuers troopes, by the helpe whereof he recovered the Caſtle de *Bortique*, neare to *Toulouze*, which was a great hinderance to *Imbert* and his portizans. All the *Albigenſes* that were found within the Caſtle were put to death; and a certaine Deacon, with others that

The History
of Languedoc,
fol. 31.

1227.

would not abiure their Religion, by the commandment of the said *Imbert*, *Amel* the Popes Legat, and the aduise of *Guyon* Bishop of *Carcaffonne*, they were burnt aliue, in the yeare 1227. suffering death with admirable constancy.

The more the persecution increased, the more the number of the *Albingenses* multiplied, which *Imbert* of *Beauieu* perceiuing, he went to the Court to let them vnderstand, that without succours, he could no longer defend the countrey, and the places newly annexed to the Crowne and patrimony of *France*, against the *Albingenses* and the Earle *Remond*. In the meane time whilest he was absent, the Earle *Remond* tooke the Castle *Sarrazin*, one of the strongest places that *Imbert* had in his keeping, and holding the field did much hurt to his enemies.

1228.

Imbert came from *France*, at the spring of the yeare one thousand two hundred twenty eight, accompanied with a great Armie of the Crosse, in which there was the Archbishop of *Bourges*, the Archbishop of *Aouch* and of *Burdeaux*, euery one with the Pilgrims of their iurisdiction.

The Earle *Remond* retired himselfe into *Toulouze* where he was presently shut vp, and all the country round about, euen haruest and all spoiled and wasted. Being brought to this extremitie, the Abbot of *Grandfelue*, named *Elias Garin*, came from *Amelin* the Popes Legat, to offer peace to the Earle *Remond* and the *Toulouzains*. He was receiued with great ioy, offering peace and plenty to those that were almost famished, and wearied with warre. Neuerthelesse the wisest amongst them, who better foresaw the euent of things, knew well enough that so soone as they had gotten

tha.

the Earle *Remond* into their hands, they would make vse of him to persecute them, that they would establish the inquisition and kindle their fires againe, and so vtterly destroy them both bodies and soules: but the reasons of these men were overcome by the importunate cries of the common people almost famished, who could not see the time wherein they were fettered with the halter, that should strangle them. Besides the enemy wanted not people in *Toulouze*, that were willing to terrifie the Earle *Remond* saying, that he was not now to deale with *Americ* of *Montfort*, but with a king of *France*, who had power sufficient to ouerthrow him: that continuall feuers kill men, and long warres would at the last burie them all. The Earle *Remond* passed his word to the Abbot to be at a certaine day at *Vasieges*, there to resolute vpon that which was to be done, to bring the peace to a perfection. In the meane time a truse was agreed vpon with the *Toulouzains*, for certaine daies. The Earle *Remond* came at the day to the place appointed, and so did the Abbot of *Grandfelue*. After much discourse and communication touching a peace, the Abbot made him beleue, that it would be for his greater aduantage to be in *France*, than in that place; and that forasmuch as the businesse concerned the King, that it was necessary that the Queene-mother being Tutrix vnto him, and Regent of *France*, should be present, and that more would be done in a few daies, than in a whole yeare, the businesse requiring so many iournies and goings and commings, which peradventure would be long and vnprofitable: and so pawned his faith that hereby he should receiue all contentment. Being vanquished by these promises, he consented to come into

Ppp 3.

France.

Hist. of Lang.
fol. 33.

France, whether soeuer the Queene-mother should appoint. *Meaux* was the place she made choise of, and his time was appointed. He came thither, but he was no sooner arriued, but he repented, and acknowledged his great ouersight, in that he had giuen credit to the words of a Priest, especially knowing that his deceased father, had alwaies sped so ill by trusting to those that hold this for a maxime, that *Faith is not to be kept with Heretikes, or their fauourers*. That he being held for such a one, had no reason to looke for better successe.

There was therefore now no more question of treaties or communications, but of submission to what soeuer should be enioyned him. He had now no longer freedome of speech, but he was carefully guarded, for feare least he should fly to the *Albingsenses*. The Historiographer of *Languedoc*, though in other matters much animated against the *Albingsenses*, yet hee could not write of this without commiseration, so lamentable was the condition of this Lord. These are his words.

"It was a lamentable thing (saith hee) to see so braue a man, that was able, for so long a time, to make resistance against so many people, to come in his shirt and his linnen breeches, bare foot to the Altar, in the presence of two Cardinalls of the Church of *Rome*, the one the Legat in *France*, the other the Legat in *England*. But this is not all the ignominious punishment that was inflicted, but he notes besides, that of so many conditions of that peace, every one of them (saith he) had beene sufficient for the price of his ransome, if the king had beene in the field making warre against him.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Articles of the treatie of the Earle Remond of Toulouze, with the Popes Legat, Amelin, and the Queene mother of Lewis the ninth, King of France.



T was an easie matter to finish this treatie, because the Articles were proposed to the Earle Remond, with this condition, that they should be signed by him selfe without reply.

Article 1. That after the Earle Remond, shall haue asked pardon, according to the order appointed, that is to say, bareheaded, barefoot, in his shirt, with a torch in his hand, for all that he had done against the Church; he shall promise to defend the faith, and drive away all Heretikes, out of his lands and territories.

Article 2. That hee should pay to the Church as long as he liueth, every yeare three Markes of Siluer.

3. That he should giue once and incontinently the summe of six thousand Markes of Siluer for the reparations of the Cities, Castles and houses, that had beene either by him selfe or his father destroyed and ruinated during the warres past.

4. That he should giue for the reparation of *Monstier* and the maintenance and nourishment of the Monkes of *Cisteaux*, two thousand Markes of Siluer.

5. For the Monkes of *Cleruaux*, five hundred Markes of Siluer.

6. For those of *Grand Selue*, and the reparation of their *Monstier*, a thousand Markes of Siluer.

7. For

These articles are to be found in the Bibliothoth of Peres, Tom. 7.

The Hist. of
Lang. fol. 34.

7. For the Church of *Belle Perche*, three hundred Markes of Siluer.

8. For the reparation of the Castle *Narbonnes*, six thousand markes of Siluer, and that the Legat should keepe it for ten yeares in the name of the Church.

9. For the maintenance of foure Masters in diuinitie, two Doctors of the Canon Law, two Masters of Art, and two Masters Gramarians, who should reade euery one in his quality, euery day, to such schollers as should come to *Toulouze*, the summe of foure thousand markes of Siluer, whereof euery Master in Diuinitie should haue twenty five Markes of Siluer by the yeare, for the terme of ten yeares, the Doctor of the Law should haue fifteene Markes by the yeare, during the space of ten yeares : The Master of Artes, ten Markes.

10. That he should take the Crosse, at the hands of the Legat, to goe beyond the seas, to make warre against the *Turkes* and *Sarazins*, and should goe to *Rhodes*, where hee should stay for the space of five yeares, from whence he should bring a certificat from the great Master of *Rhodes*.

11. That from thenceforward, hee should enterprise nothing against the Church.

12. That he should make warre against the Earle of *Foix* and his allies, neuer making peace with them but by the leaue of the Legat.

13. That he should ouerthrow and demollish, all the walles, towers and fortresses of *Toulouze*, as the Legat shall ordaine and appoint.

14. That he should vtterly subuert and pull downe from the bottome to the top, thirty five cities or Castles, of which these that follow should bee of the number

number, that is to say, *Fauiaux*, *Castelnau d'Arri*, *la Bastide*, *Auignonnet*, *Pech Laurence*, *Saint Paul*, *La Vaur*, *Rebasteins*, *Gnailac*, *Montagut*, *Hautpec*, *Verdun*, *Castel Sarrazin*, *Montauban*, *Agen*, *Sauerdun*, *Condon*, *Auzerine*, and others that shall be named vnto him by the Legat, which hereafter he shall not reedifie without his leaue.

15. That if any of his, hold any fortresse, he shall cause him to raze it, or otherwise make warre against him at his owne proper costs and charges.

16. That he shall deliuer into the hands of the Legat, *Penne d'Agnes*, and all the other places before mentioned, for the terme of ten yeeres, which if hee cannot recouer and enioy, he shall winne by warre. And if within the space of two yeares he cannot make himselfe Master thereof, he shall make his voyage beyond the seas, as hath beene said before, and yeeld his right of the said *Penne* to the Templers, procuring them to come ouer to conquer it; which if they will not vndertake, it is the Legats pleasure, that the king of *France* doe conquer it; And if he will not hold it, hauing taken it, that he cause it to be vtterly razed and ouerthrowne, in such sort, that it bee impossible euer hereafter to reedifie it.

17. That for the accomplishment of all this, he is to yeeld himselfe prisoner at the *Louvre* in *Paris*, into the hands of the king, from whence he shall not depart, vntill he haue first caused a daughter of his, to be brought to *Carcaffonne*, and committed to the custody of the king, in the hands of such as shall be deputed thereunto.

18. That he shall likewise deliuer to the said Legat, the Castle *Narbonnes*, and *Penne d'Agnes*, and the other places.

places. That he shall cause the walles of the citie, that are ouer against the Cattle *Narbonnes* to be demolished and beaten downe, and the ditches that were betwixt them to be filled vp, to the end that a man may passe and repasse freely without feare of any thing; and that all this should be done, before hee went out of prison. All which being performed, the Legat gaue him his absolution and deliuered it in writing.

Thus you see the conditions of the treatie of the Earle *Remond*, with the Popes Legat. The Reader may iudge, what; and how great the troubles and afflictions of this Prince were: but this was but the beginning of miseries to the poore *Albingenses*, for from hence did the great persecution proceede, whereby they were utterly rooted out, as it will appeare hereafter.

CHAP. VII.

Pecuniary penalties laid upon the Albingenses: The Earle Remond constrained to make statutes against the Albingenses: A Councell at Toulouze against the Albingenses, wherein they were forbidden the reading of the Scriptures: Other constitutions against them: The Earle Remonds daughter brought to Paris.



He subiects of the Earle *Remond*, being aduertised of this dishonourable and disaduantagious treatie of their Lord, were much displeased and grieved therewith, to see themselves vpon the very brinke of their totall destruction; because that thereby their owne Lord was bound to doe his best endeouours

Chap. 7. of the *Albingenses*. 123

endeuours for their extirpation; and they saw besides that a new heire, their sworne enemy.

“First, for the more easie payment of those summes, which he was bound to pay to the Conuents, and others, they cause him to ordaine, that euery one of his subiects, that make profession of the beleefe of the *Albingenses*, shall furnish him with a Marke of siluer. Which was to perswade him, that he should not thinke this imposition to be strange, because the *Albingenses* onely were to pay the said summes: As also by this meanes they made prooffe of all his subiects; for as soone as they found any that refused to pay the said Marke, it was a kinde of inquisition, whereby to take notice of all those that afterwards were to be persecuted. And that they that persisted in their Religion, should bee punished and condemned to death, their goods confiscated, their last wills and testaments to be of no force, so that their children nor any of the kindred should euer recover their inheritances.

“That their houses should bee utterly razed and destroyed.

“Item, hee ordaineth that all they that shall denie the Inquisitors their houses, granges and woods, or shall defend the Heretikes, deliuer them when they should apprehend them, and refuse to giue aid and assistance to the Inquisitors, or to defend them when they shall require it, or shall nor vse their best endeouours to keepe those that are taken by the said Inquisitors, shall be corporally punished, and their goods confiscate.

“Item, that they that are suspected of Heresie, shall sweare to liue in the Catholike faith, and abiure

The statutes of the Earle *Remond* are to be found in the booke of *Ramerius, De modo examinandi Hereticos. fol. 130.*

their Heretic, and if they shall refuse to doe it, they are to endure the same punishment that the Heretikes doe. That if after the oath taken, it doe appeare, that they haue receiued, fauored, or counselled any Heretike, they shall vndergoe the punishment that the Councell hath ordained.

Item, we ordaine (saith he) that if it shall appeare that any, that hath offended, shall die an Heretike, and that it shall bee lawfully proued before the Bishop; that all his goods be confiscated, and that the houses wherein they shall inhabit, after the treatie of peace made at Paris, or shall dwell in hereafter, shall be vtterly razed.

Thus you see what they caused the Earle Remond to ordaine, and to seale vnto, and at the same time they began to destroy and overthrow by peccameale, those they could neuer make to stagger in grosse, being vniited together.

Moreover, to giue the better authority to the Inquisition, they called a councell at Toulouze in the yeare 1229. whereat the Archbishop of Narbonnes, Bourdeaux, Auch, and diuers other Bishops and Prelates were present, wherein amongst other Articles that were concluded vpon, this one shewes by what Spirit, these Prelates were led.

We forbid (say they) the permission of the bookes of the old and new Testament to all Lay-people, except peradventure they will haue the Psalter or some Breuiarie for the Diuine office, or the Prayer booke of the blessed Virgin Marie for deuotion. Forbidding expressly that they haue not the said bookes turned into the vulgar tongue.

Pope Gregory the ninth did also make constitutions,

at

at the same time against the *Albingenses*; and especially because he would stop the mouthes, of the Pastors of the *Albingenses*, who discredited their humane inuentions. He ordained that all and every one of the Lay-people, of what quality or office soeuer should be interdicted from preaching.

King Lewis the ninth, made also statutes, conformable to those of the Earle Remond, as also the Emperor Frederick which we produce not, that we may not weary the reader, and so much the rather because all of them proceeding from one source, hee that hath seene the one, hath seene al: for they all tend to no other end, but to make the Kings, Princes, Emperours and Potentates of the world, to seale and set to their hands to whatsoever they found fitting, to persecute those that resisted the ordinances of the Popes, neither did they dare to refuse to doe it, vpon paine that the selfe-same constitutions should be executed against them.

Now after the treatie made with the Earle Remond, hee remained a prisoner vntill the payment of the summes specified therein; and in the meane time, Master Peter de Colmieu Vice-Legat, rooke his iourney to Toulouze, to bring the Citie vnder the obedience of the King, and caused the Walls to be razed, and the Towers to bee beaten downe, to the end they might haue no more meanes to rebell against the King. He brought likewise to the Queene-mother Ioan the only daughter of the Earle Remond, being of the age of nine yeeres, to the end she might bee brought vp with her, vntill she were of yeeres sufficient to marry Alphonsus, brother to King Lewis. The remouall of this young Princesse did much afflict the subiects of the Earle Remond, for seeing that this change of do-

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mination

the Earle
Remond
was
found
in
the
book
of
the
Councell
of
Toulouze

1229.

The seventh
Article of the
Councell of
Toulouze.

mination would bring with it an alteration of their peace, as it came to passe.

CHAP. VIII.

The Earle Remond of Toulouze solliciteth the Earle of Foix, to range himselfe vnder the obedience of the Pope: What practises he useth to make him forsake the part of the Albingenses, and hee suffereth himselfe to be handled by the Popes Legat.



He Earle of Foix, of Comminges, and the Prince of Bearne, were yet to be conquered, or wonne by practises. The Legat Colmien thought the Earle Remond a fit instrument to worke the latter of the two, and therefore he commandeth him to write to the Earle of Foix, That he should follow his example, or resolve miserably to perish. Hee writ vnto him in louing termes: That the union that had alwaies bene betwixt their houses, did binde him to procure their good as his owne, that if he did not yeeld himselfe into the bosome of the Church of Rome, hee saw such a tempest like to fall vpon him, that it must needs ouerwhelme him: That hauing so great an enemy as a King of France, hee could not possibly stand out: Hee therefore entreated him to receiue his counsell, and withall, the gift that hee bestowed on him, for a farther prooue of his loue, that is, if hee would conforme himselfe to this submission, to the Pope and the Church of Rome, hee would hold him from this day forward, quit of that homage which hee anciently did vnto him for the Earledome of Foix. Hee likewise entreated him to procure the like submission from the Earle of Comminge, and the Prince of Bearne.

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The Answer of the Earle of Foix was, That hee could not forsake his part nor his beleefe, in a time wherein hee should giue men occasion to thinke that hee had more feare than reason, and that it was necessary for so fruitfull a change, such as they expected of him, that the truth should overcome, not the allurements of promises, nor the violence of armes: That he would see that world of Pilgrims come that was threatned, and he did trust in God, that hee should make them to know the iustice of his cause, and deplore the temeritie of their vow.

The Earle Remond was not satisfied with this answer, much lesse the Legat, who found another way to winne him vnto them. And that was, that there were within his lands and territories, and about the said Earledome, subiects of his, who being frightened with an apprehension of their ruine, should intreat him to haue compassion both of himselfe and his poore subiects, who should doubtlesse be ouerthrowne by this last violence. And at the very same time, hee caused the Earle Remond of Toulouze, to write to the principall men of the Countries of the said Roger Earle of Foix, that there was an excellent opportunitie offered their Lord, if hee made not himselfe unworthy thereof by his obstinacie: that it was the onely meanes to make them liue in perfect peace: that they should perswade him, whilst the occasion and time serued, before the expedition of the Crosse were on foot.

The subiects of the Earle of Foix, partly for their owne interest, partly for feare, lest their Lord being strooken in yeeres, without wife and children, should leaue them to the mercie of the first Conquerour, if he should depart this life without a lawfull heire; they ioyned

ioyned together in humble supplication to their Lord, at the instant reasons and perswasions of the said Earle of *Toulouze*. They obtained by their requests and teares, that which the Earle of *Toulouze* could not by threats, prayers nor promises: for hee promised them, that hee would treat with the Legat for their peace, and would accept thereof for their good and contentment.

The Pope was aduertised of the intention of the Earle of *Foix*, and therefore hee ioyned with the first Legat in the Earledome of *Foix* another, that is to say, the Cardinall of *S^t. Ange*, accompanied by the Archbishop of *Narbonnes*, *de Fole*, *Gnillaume de Toration*, Bishop of *Couferans*, *Bernard de la grace*, *Peter* Abbot of *Bolbonne*, *John* Abbot of *Comelonge*, *William* Abbot of *Foix*, *Peter de Thalames*, the Legats Lieutenant, *Lambert de la Tour*, and diuers others. Being arrived at *S^t. John de Berges*, in the Earledome of *Foix*, there appeared also the Earle of *Foix*, with the Nobilitie and principall men of the Land.

The Legat related to the Earle of *Foix*, the great contentment that the Pope had, to heare that after so many combats and bloody warres, there was hope to finish them in peace: that he was come to conclude that, and to bring it to effect, that was begunne in behalfe of the Pope: that there remained nothing but to know what his resolution was, and to receiue from him the promises and oathes of fidelitie to the Church, which are requisite in such a case.

The Earle *Roger* replied to the Legat and the rest that were present, as followeth.

Messieurs, I haue long since bid Rhetorick a diu, having made profession to pleade my cause, and to make

make my entries with engins and speares, which must be my excuse, if like a Souldier I vtter my intentions. My Couzen, the Earle of *Toulouze*, hath procured (for which I thanke him) that my enemies will now be pleased with reason, to heare the causes of our leuiues, and why wee haue taken Armes, which to this present would neuer be granted; as also hee desireth that we should giue over the pursuit of those that desire to wrong vs, vpon an assurance (saith he) that the King of *France* shall maintaine euery one with Iustice and Equitie. Truly, I confesse, that I neuer desired any thing more than to maintaine my libertie, being as yet (as it were) in the swadling clouts of my freedom. Our Country owes onely one simple homage to the Earle of *Toulouze*, for raising it to an Earldome, but it acknowledgeth no other Master but my selfe; and as for the Pope, I neuer offended him; for he hath neuer demanded any thing at my hands, as a Prince, in which I haue not obeyed him. Hee is not to intermeddle with my Religion, since euery man is to haue it free. My Father hath alwaies recommended vnto me this libertie, to the end that being settled therein, though the heauens shake I might looke vpon them with a constant and assured countenance, and a perswasion that they could neuer hurt me. Nothing troubles me but this: For in consideration that the Earle of *Toulouze* holds mee discharged of that homage, which he pretends to belong vnto him, I am ready lovingly to imbrace the King, and to doe him seruice in the same condition, vnder the dependance of my other rights, which maintaine me in Regall authoritie in that Country. It is not feare that makes me stagger or yeeld to your desires, and that constraines me to

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Hologaray in
the life of *Roger*
Earle of
Foix.

humble my will and desires to the earth, or dunghill-like to submit my selfe to your appetite, but being prouoked by that benigne and generous feare of the miseries of my Subiects, the ruine of my Countrey, the desire not to be accounted mutinous, braine-sicke, and the fire-brand of *France*, I yeeld my selfe to this extremitie; otherwise I would bee as a wall without breach or escalado, against the brauest of mine enemies. I giue you therefore a gage of my affection, for the good of the peace in generall. Take my Castles of *Foix*, *Mongailard*, *Montreal*, *Vicdesos*, *Lordat*, whilst that I yeeld him that homage that you demand.

As for the Earle of *Comminge*, and the Prince of *Bearne*, it was impossible they should continue firme in their resolutions, to make resistance, being destitute of these two props, the Earles of *Foix* and *Toulouze*: For they were but weak, both in money and men. Behold then the end, to the outward appearance of the *Albigenes*, when in the yeare 1234. there arose a certaine bastard of the Earle of *Beziers*, who tooke armes for the *Albigenes*, or craued their assistance, to reuenge the death of his deceased Father.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The last warre of the Albigenes by Trancauel, Bastard of the Earle of Beziers: The progression thereof: The last expedition, leuied against the Albigenes: A treatie betweene the Legat Amelin, and the said Trancauel: The end of the warre.



Matthew Paris an English Writer saith, That in the yeare 1234 the warres began againe against the *Albigenes*, and that there came a great Army of the *Crosse* against them, yea, that they lost aboue a hundred thousand men all at once, with all their Bishops that were in that battell, and that none escaped.

He was no doubt mis-informed; For the Historiographer of *Languedoc*, who relateth all that passed in those times, hath made no mention thereof, neither is it likely that he would haue forgotten so famous a victorie ouer the *Albigenes*, whom hee hated to the death. True it is, that at what time the Earle of *Toulouze*, of *Foix*, *Comminge*, and the Prince of *Bearne* tooke part with them, and were their Leaders; *Trancauel* the Bastard of the Earle of *Beziers* deceased, did not appeare, but as a priuat man of small importance, but when the *Albigenes* were destitute of all support, there were that awakned this Souldier, and made him to know, that if he would haue any feeling of the outrages done vnto his Father, deprived of his lands vniustly, betraied, imprisoned, and poysoned, that they would giue him the best assistance they could. Whereupon he tooke the field, said, That he would reuenge the

Matthew Paris
history of
England, in
the yere 1234.

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the death of his Father, and win that by the sword that had beene taken from him by in-iustice. Hee was assisted by a number of valiant Captaines; that is to say, *Sieur Oliuier de Fumes*, *Bertrand Hugon de Serre-longue*, *Bernard de Villeneuve*, *Jordain de Satiac*, all braue Leaders, who had a number of men at their command; and before the enemy tooke any notice of his designe, he seased vpon the Castles of *Montreall*, *Saixac*, *Montolieu*, *Limaus*, and others.

Peter Melin the Popes Legat, and Bishop of *Toulouze*, being much astonished to see those that tooke part with the *Albingses*, whom he thought to bee vtterly buried, to spring vp againe, hee had presently recourse to the ordinary meanes of the Pope and his Agents, that is, presently to cause the pardon of sins to be preached, to whomsoever would fight vnder the banner of the Crosse, a kinde of pay of lesse value, but more common in those times. The Archbishop of *Narbonnes* animated also the people of his Diocesse to goe to make an end of that poore remainder of the *Albingses* that were left.

These Priests with their troopes, presented themselves before the gates of *Carcassonne*. The Citie receiued them, but when they came to the Towne the gates were shut against them. *Amelin* made a speech vnto those that shewed themselves vpon the rampiers, telling them that he was come thither for their preservation. They thanked him, but they told him withall, that if he did not instantly retire himselfe, they would giue him the chase. Vpon this conference came *Trancauel*, who set so hotly and valiantly vpon the troope of Pilgrims that accompanied the Legat, that he chased them, beating and killing them, till he came to the gates

gates of the Citie of *Carcassonne*, and the Legat had enough to doe to saue himselfe: but that which offended him most, was, that the gates of the Towne were opened to *Trancauel*, who lodged therein, and made it his principall retrait, from whence he euery day hurt and hindred the Pilgrims of the Citie, in such sort, that they hardly durst come forth of the gates. And whensoever he heard of any troopes of Pilgrims to come, he went to meet them, laying ambushes for them, and many times ouerthrew them before they could ioine themselves to the Legat.

This man kept the field, vntill the yeare 1242. because when any Pilgrims were required to goe against a Bastard of the diseased Earle of *Beziars*, euery one did beleue the forces that were leuied within the Principallitie, might suffice for the destruction of so weake an enemy: but *Amelin* writ to the Pope, that if in good earnest he caused not the expedition of the Crosse to be preached in many places of *Europe*, that the Church was like to receiue a great losse by this last enemy, who had reuiued the part of the *Albingses*, and was more cruell, and more subtil, than any other that had maintained them vnto this time.

Innocent the fourth caused the expedition of the Crosse to be published in diuers parts of *Europe*. *Trancauel* being aduertised, that a very great Army of Pilgrims was prepared to come against him, finding himselfe not strong enough in the Towne of *Carcassonne*, retired himselfe to *Realmont*, whither the Pilgrims followed him and besieged him. He courageously resisted them, and hauing many times discomfited the Pilgrims, in the end *Amelin* seeing there was nothing to bee gotten of a man, whom when they

thought him fast shut vp, would be many daies journey from them, gathering new forces, he entreated the Earle of *Foix* to vse his best endeouours, to bring him to some peaceable designe, and to treatie with him; which he performed with such successe, that he promised neuer to beare Armes, either against the Legat or the Church of *Rome*. Here you see the last attempt which wee finde the *Albingenses* haue made, and the last expedition of Pilgrims leuied against them. All the pursuit against them afterward, was made by the Monkes the Inquisitors, who kindled their fires more than euer; And so taking this poore people disarmed, and singling them out by retaile, it was impossible for them any longer to subsist. And if at any time they hapned to set vpon the Inquisitors, it was but to giue them a more sensible apprehension of their extreme violencies, whereof we haue a notable example in the Chapter following.

CHAP. X.

Many Monkes Inquisitors, and Officers of the Inquisition slaine, and for what cause: Pope Innocent the fourth vseth the Earle Remond disgracefully: The Earle Remond goes to Rome, and why: He takes his journey to Rhodes, dies at Milan.

1243.



In the yeare one thousand two hundred fortie three, the Earle *Remond* hauing satisfied his pecuniary penalties, and being returned to his Subjects; certaine of the Country complained of the vniust proceeding of the Monkes Inquisitors, who without any difference intangled

intangled in such sort all sorts of people, that there were not almost any that they condemned not either for Heretiques, or Fauourers; or Kinsfolke, or allies of Heretiques; not being content to proceede against those that made publike profession of the beleefe of the *Albingenses*, in such sort, that vnder the cloke of the Inquisition office, they committed strange theeueries. This accusation against the Inquisitors was before the Earle *Remond*, in the presence of five Inquisitors, and foure Officers of the Inquisition, that is to say, before *William Arnaldi*, Monke Inquisitor, and two other *Iacobin* Monkes; Also one *Remond de l'Escrivain* Archdeacon of the Church of *Toulouze*, and the Prior of *Auignonnet de Gluze*, and *Peter Arnaldi*, Notarie of the Inquisition, and three other of *Auignonnet*, in the Diocesse of *Toulouze*.

The History
of Languedoc,
Chap. 4. fol. 40.

The Monkes Inquisitors would reply, and make some vse of that which had beene informed, to frame their inditements against those that had thus accused them, to the impeachment of their honour, terrifying them with threats, which made those that had thus moued their patience, to enter into consideration with themselves, that since they must fall into the snare of the said Inquisitors, and so be vtterly vndone, it was better for them to deliuer themselves this once, and that they should teach others to carry themselves more aduisedly. So growing still more eager and violent in their discourse, they came to blowes. But the Monkes Inquisitors and their Officers were ouermatched, for there were slaine (as the Historiographer of *Languedoc* reports) nine, that is to say, The five Monkes aboue specified, and the foure Officers. True it is, that this Writer doth aggravate the Fact, and hee would

would haue men beleue, that it was a premeditated treason, wherein he shewes himselfe to be partiall and passionate.

The Earle *Remond* did very well make it appeare, that he was no way consenting to this riot, for hee made an exact search and inquirie after the Authors of this sedition, but yet doe what he could, he could not free himselfe from suspition. The same Historiographer saith, that the atrocitie of the fact, constrained the Authors to take Armes, and to beginne againe a kinde of warre; but there is not any Writer that makes mention thereof; and therefore to be considered of before it be beleueed. Pope *Innocent* the fourth came to *Lion* about that time. He sends out his thunder-bolts against the murderers, and hee looked not vpon the Earle *Remond* with a good countenance, who was vnciuilly reiected in that request that he made vnto him, touching a dispensation for the marriage of his Cousin *Beatrix*, daughter of the Earle *Berenger*, Earle of *Prouence*.

The same Historiographer saith, that in the yeere 1247. the Earle *Remond* tooke his journey to *Rome*, that he might bee permitted to burie the bones of his father in holy ground, and that it was denied him, because he died an excommunicate person. He likewise saith, that in the yeere one thousand two hundred fortie nine, when the Earle *Remond* purposed to take his voyage to *Rhodes*, hee died at *Milan* of a continuall feuer.

1247.
The hist. of
Languedoc,
fol. 41.

1249.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Alphonfus brother to the king *S^c. Lewis* taketh possession of the goods of the last Earle *Remond* of *Toulouze*: The persecution continueth against the *Albingenses*, vnto the time that the Gospell was receiued in France, and then the greatest part of those places where the *Albingenses* inhabited presently receiued the reformation.



He change of their Lord altered the condition of the *Albingenses*, for the Earle *Remond* being departed this life, *Alphonfus* brother to the king *S^c. Lewis*, tooke possession of all the lands, goods and reuenues of the said Earle, and consequently all the ill will that the Pope and other ecclesiasticall persons bare to the house of the Earle of *Toulouze* did cease. And as touching the places which he was to yeeld vp contained in the treatie, there needed no farther speech of that, because *Alphonfus* being free from all suspition of falshood to the Pope or the Church, he peaceably enioyed whatsoeuer belonged vnto him. But one hand washeth another; and therefore as by those wars that the Church vndertooke against the Earle of *Toulouze*, *Alphonfus* was become Master of the goods of the Earle *Remond*, so was he bound, to doe his best endeouours, that the Pope might be honoured in his countries. For this cause hee strengthened the Inquisition, witnesse the Monke *Rainerius*, who was Inquisitor in the yeere 1250. who hath left vs in writing the whole forme of their proceeding, where-

SSS of

1250.

In this hist. of
the Walden-
ses. ch. 2. lib. 2.

of we haue the transcript in the second booke of the history of the *Waldenses*. Pope *Alexander* the fourth authorized the said Inquisition by letters which wee haue in our hands.

1264. The continuance of this persecution, by the said Inquisition is proued in the yeare 1264. by the constitutions of Pope *Clement* the fourth. Also in the
1276. yeare 1276. vnder *John* the two and twentieth; they were persecuted with all manner of rigour, witnessse the letters of the said Pope against them. And by this record that followeth, it appeareth that in the yeere
1281. 1281. vnder *Martin* the fourth, there was a persecution moued in the quarters of *Albi*, and that there were at that time a great number that made profession of the Religion of the *Albingenses*.

AN EXTRACT OF THE Priuiledges of the Citie of *Realmont*.

To the honour of God the Father, the Sonne and the Holy Ghost, creator of all things, visible and inuisible, and of the glorious mother of God, who only hath destroyed all hereses.

WEE *William de Gourdon*, Captaine, and
" President of *Carcassonne* and *Beziers*,
" doe make knowne vnto all men, that
" we command in the name of our most
" excellent Lord *Philip* by the grace of God, king of
" *France*; neere the Castle of *Lombes* in the Diocesse
" of *Albi*, called *Realmont*, for the exaltation of the Ca-
" tholike

" tholike faith, and the extirpation of all wicked he-
" resies, and the benefit of our Lord the King, and
" his subiects, that the dens and lurking corners of all
" that either ioyne in beleefe with Heretikes, or fa-
" nour them to bee quite rooted out by this Colo-
" nie all and at once, and that by the command and
" authoritie of the King.

" And as for the innumerable numbers of children
" of Heretikes and fugitiues, because the peruersitie
" of Heretikes is so damnable, that we are not onely
" to punish themselves but their posteritie; Wee or-
" daine that the children of Heretikes which of their
" owne will and good motion shall not bee reduced
" (forsaking their errors) to the purity of the Catho-
" like faith, and the vnitie of the Church, shall not be
" admitted to the citie of *Realmont* or the territorie
" thereof in any sort whatsoever, to any place of ho-
" nour or publike office. Which shall likewise be ob-
" serued against the fugitiues for heresie, who before
" their departure shall not of their owne accord wil-
" lingly be reclaimed. Also they that shall giue cre-
" dit vnto Heretikes, concealing them or fauouring
" them, after they are made knowne and declared to
" be such by the Church, shall be banished for euer
" from the citie of *Realmont*, and all their goods con-
" fiscated, and their children wholly excluded from
" all honours and publike dignities, except some one
" amongst them doe make knowne such Heretikes,
" and doe ioyne in the search and inquisition of them.

Thus you see the very last instrument which hath
come to our hands for the prooffe of the persecution
against the *Albingenses*. Though it be very certaine
that they haue beene continually persecuted by the

Inquisition, though their enemies could neuer preuaile so farre against them, but that they still lay hid like sparkles vnder the ashes, desiring once againe to see that which their posteritie hath enioyed, that is the liberty to call vpon God in puritie of conscience, without any constraint to yeeld to any superstition or Idolatry, and so secretly instructing their children in the seruice of God, the fruit of their pietie, tooke life againe, when it pleased the Lord that the light of his Gospell should appeare amongst the palpable darknesse of Antichrist, for then many of those places that had made profession to receiue the faith of the *Albigeneses*, haue receiued with greedinesse the doctrine of the Gospell, and namely the city of *Realmont*, where the precedent thunderbolts were darted, and notwithstanding that great distance of time, during the which they appeared not, yet the eternall God hath not giuen ouer his worke, and to make manifest that he can preserue his faithfull, euen in the midst of the confusion of Babylon as Diamonds in a dunghill, wheat amongst the straw, gold in the midst of the fire. And notwithstanding the enstruction haue not passed from the father to the sonne, vntill the time of the restauration, yet the goodnesse of God ceaseth not to be wonderfull, in that many of those places where this first dew of Gods grace hath fallen, haue bene abundantly enriched with his heavenly benedictions in these latter times; An excellent prouocation doubly to oblige them to loue the truth which hath bin freely manifested vnto them, and to bring forth fruits worthy thereof. As it should be an extreme griefe to those places that haue neglected and reiected it, that God hath abandoned them and left them to their

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owne sence, euen in that darkenesse which they loued, reuenging the contempt of his word, by the ignorance thereof, and suffering those to perish in their error, that haue preferred it before the truth.

CHAP. XII.

The conclusion of this History of the Albigeneses.

IT is an easie matter to gather by the contents of this History of the *Albigeneses*, that the people inhabiting in the Countrey of *Albi*, *Languedoc*, and diuers other places neere adioyning, haue made profession of the selfe-same Religion, that they haue that elsewhere were called *Waldenses*, and the rather because their aduersaries themselves haue affirmed, that they haue persecuted them as *Waldenses*. As also that the greatest troubles that haue lighted vpon them, haue bene procured by the Priests, whose corruptions they haue descryed and discovered their abuses, maintaining against the Church of *Rome*, the Gospell of Christ Iesus in it puritie, refusing to yeeld to those Idolatries that bare sway in those times; but aboue all, detesting the Masse, and the inuention of Transubstantiation, shaking the authoritie of the Popes dominion, as being abusive and tyrannicall, hauing no resemblance of the well-befitting humilitie of the true Pastors of the Church, or conformitie to the doctrine and vocation of the Apostles, but rather an excesse and ryor, besitting those that loue the world and perish with the world. By which libertie which they tooke vnto themselves

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selues to reprehend those that beleueed the right of all redargution to belong onely to themselves, they haue beene charged with diuers faults, and condemned for rash inconsiderate people, prophane secular persons, who had thrust themselves into the office of teaching, when with silence they should rather learne. And the Popes not being able to winne them to the obedience of their commands, nor to conuince them of error by the word of God, they haue persecuted them by their Monkes Inquisitors, who haue deliuered to the secular Magistrate, as many as the said Monkes could apprehend, and forasmuch as this way was somewhat too slow to cut them off, and to see the end of them, the Popes haue drawne their swords against them, haue armed their Cardinals and Legats, and driuen to these bloody warrs the Kings and Princes of the earth, giuing Paradise for a recompence to whomsoever would beare armes against them, and aduenture his life for the extirpation of them for fortie daies together. Many great Lords haue beene delirous to know the cause of that vnreconcilable enmitie of the Pope, against their subiects, and hauing perceiued that passion carried those that were offended for the truth, they haue maintained their cause, being grounded vpon this reason, That when they should bee conuincd of this error by the word of God, they would giue the glory vnto God. From hence haue proceeded those cruell warrs wherein a million of men haue lost their liues. In the meane time, euen then when it seemed that all truth was buried in the ground, and that the Dragon had ouercome, God raised in diuers of those places, where this grace had beene knowne and receiued, many goodly Churches wherein his name is purely

ly inuocated, maugre the Deuill and all his adherents. To God therefore, who hath begunne to destroy the sonne of perdition by the blast of his Spirit: To the Sonne of God who hath bought vs with his precious blood, bee all honour and glory, for euer and euer. So be it.

FINIS.



THE THIRD PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WALDENSES AND ALBINGENSES.

THE FIRST BOOKE.
Contayning the Doctrine and Discipline that
hath beene common amongst them.

*The Catechisme or manner of instructing their Chil-
dren, which the Waldenses and Albingenses have u-
sed, in manner of a Dialogue, where the Pastor asketh
the question, and the Childe answereth, set down ioint-
ly in their owne proper Language, in the French Copy,
for the more Authority.*

CHAPTER I.

Lo. Barba. *Si tu fosses demanda qui sies tu. Respond.*
L'Enfant. Creatura de diu rational & mortall, &c.

The Pastor.

Question.
Answer.



Hat art thou?
A creature of God, reason-
able, and mortall.

Q. Why hath God created thee?

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A. To

The learned
Reader defi-
rous to see the
Originall, may
haue recourse
to the French
Booke, where
it is faithfully
set forth in
their owne old
Language.

2 *The Doctrine of the* Booke I.

A. To the end I should know and serue him, and that I might be saved by his grace.

Q. *In what doth thy saluation consist?*

A. In three essentiall vertues, which doe necessarily belong to saluation.

Q. *Which be they?*

A. Faith, Hope, and Charity.

Q. *How dost thou prone it?*

A. The Apostle saith in the 1 Epistle to the *Corinthians*, Chap. 13. 13. These three things remaine, Faith, Hope, and Charity.

Q. *What is Faith?*

A. According to the Apostle, *Heb. 11. 1.* It is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.

Q. *How many kinds of Faith are there?*

A. There are two sorts of Faith, that is, a lively, and a dead Faith.

Q. *What is a lively Faith?*

A. That which worketh by Charity.

Q. *What is a dead Faith?*

A. According to Saint *James*, That Faith which is without workes, is dead. Again, Faith is nothing without workes: Or, a dead faith, is to beleue there is a God, and to beleue those things concerning God, and not to beleue in God.

Q. *What is thy Faith?*

A. The true Catholike and Apostolike Faith.

Q. *What is that?*

A. It is that which in the Apostles Symbole is diuided into twelue Articles.

Q. *What is that Symbole?*

A. I beleue in God the Father Almighty, &c.

Q. By

Chap. I. *Waldenses & Albigenses.* 3

Q. *By what meanes canst thou know that thou beleuest in God?*

A. By this. Because I know that I haue giuen my selfe to the obseruation of the Commandements of God.

Q. *How many Commandements of God are there?*

A. Ten, as it appeareth in *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy*.

Q. *Which are they?*

A. Hearken O Israel, I am the Lord thy God: Thou shalt haue no other Gods but me. Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any grauen Image, nor the likenesse of any thing that is in Heaven, &c.

Q. *Vpon what doe all these Commandements depend?*

A. Vpon the two great Commandements, that is to say; Thou shalt loue God aboue all things, and thy Neighbour as thy selfe.

Q. *What is the foundation of these Commandements, by which euery one ought to enter into life, without which foundation no man can worthily fulfill the Commandements?*

A. Our Lord Iesus Christ, of whom the Apostle saith, in the first to the *Corinthians*, None can lay any other foundation but that which is laid, even Iesus Christ.

Q. *By what meanes may a man attaine to this foundation?*

A. By Faith; So saith Saint *Peter*, 1 Epist. 2. 6. Behold, I lay in Sion a chiefe corner stone, elect, precious, and he that beleueth in him, shall not be confounded. And our Saviour saith; Hee that beleueth in me shall haue eternall life.

Q. *How dost thou know that thou beleuest?*

A. Because I know him to be true God, and true man, who was borne, & suffered, &c. for my redemption.

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ony and Iustification; and that I loue him, and desife to fulfill his Commandements.

Q. By what meanes may a man attaine to the Essentiall vertues, that is to say, Faith, Hope, and Charity?

A. By the gifts of the holy Ghost.

Q. Doeſt thou beleene in the holy Ghost?

A. I doe beleene: For the holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne, and is a person of the Trinity, and according to the Diuinity, is equall with the Father and the Sonne.

Q. Doeſt thou beleene God the Father, God the Sonne, God the holy Ghost, to be three Persons: Then there are three Gods.

A. No, there are not three.

Q. But yet thou haſt named three?

A. That was by reason of the difference of the Persons, not of the Essence of the Diuinity: For though there be three Persons, yet there is but one Essence.

Q. After what manner doeſt thou adore, and ſerue that God, in whom thou beleueſt?

A. I adore him by an exterior and interior adoration: Exterior, by the bowing of the knees, the lifting vp of the hands, the inclination of the body, with hymnes and spirituall songs, fasting, inuocation: but inwardly by a holy affection, a will ready to doe what hee pleaseth, and I ſerue him by Faith, Hope, Charity, in his Commandements.

Q. Doeſt thou adore and ſerue any other thing as God?

A. No.

Q. Wherefore?

A. Because of his Commandement, whereby hee hath straightly commanded, ſaying: Thou ſhalt worship the Lord thy God, and him onely ſhalt thou ſerue.

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As also, I will not giue my glory to another. Again, I haue ſaith the Lord: Euery knee shall bow vnto me. And Christ Iesus saith: There shall be true worshippers, who shall worship the Father in spirit and truth: and the Angell would not be adored by Saint Iohn, nor Saint Peter by Cornelius.

Q. After what manner doeſt thou pray?

A. I pray according to that Prayer that was taught vs by the Sonne of God, *Our Father which art in Heauen, &c.*

Q. Which is the other ſubſtantiall vertue belonging of neceſſity to ſaluation?

A. It is Charity.

Q. What is Charity?

A. It is a gift of the holy Ghost, whereby the ſoule is reformed in will, illuminated by Faith, whereby I beleue all that I ought to beleue, and hope whatſoeuer I ought to hope.

Q. Doeſt thou beleue in the holy Church?

A. No, for that is a creature: but I beleue there is a Church.

Q. What is that thou beleueſt touching the holy Church?

A. I ſay that the Church is conſidered after a twofold manner, the one in it ſubſtance, the other in it Miniſtery: Conſidered in it ſubſtance, by the Church we vnderſtand, the holy Catholike Church, which containeth all the Elect of God, from the beginning of the World to the end, in the grace of God, by the merit of Chriſt, aſſembled by the holy Ghost, ordained from the beginning to eternall life, the names and number of whom is known onely to God, who hath elected them; And laſtly, in this Church there remaineth no excommunicated perſon: But the Church conſidered according

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ding to the veritie of the Ministry, are the Ministers of Christ, with the people subiect vnto them, or committed to their charge, vsing their Ministry by Faith, Hope, and Charity.

Q. By what markes doest thou know the Church of Christ?

A. By fit and conuenient Ministers, and by the people who participate in the trueth of that Ministry.

Q. How doest thou know the Ministers?

A. By the true apprehension of faith, by sound doctrine, by the life of good example, the preaching of the Gospel, and the due administration of the Sacraments.

Q. By what markes doest thou know the false Ministers?

A. By their fruits; by their blindness, by their wicked workes, by their peruerse doctrine, and by their vnfit disorderly administration of the Sacraments.

Q. How may we know their blindness?

A. When they, not knowing that truth which belongeth of necessity to saluation, they obserue humane inuentions, as the Commandements of God, of whom that is verified that the Prophet *Esay* speaketh, and that hath beene alledged by our Sauour Christ Iesus, *Mat. 15. This people honour mee with their lips, but their heart is farre from me; but they serue me for nothing, teaching the doctrine and commandements of men.*

Q. By what meanes or markes are wicked workes made knowne?

A. By those manifest sinnes of which the Apostle speaketh, *Rom. 1.* saying, that they that doe such things shall

shall not inherit the kingdome of God.

Q. By what markes is false doctrine knowne?

A. When men teach against Faith and Hope, as diuers kinds of Idolatries, worshipping the reasonable, sensible, visible, or inuisible creature: for it is the Father onely, with his Sonne and the holy Ghost, that must be serued, and no other creature. But contrarily we attribute to man, and to the worke of his hands, or to his words, or to his authority, in such manner, that men being blinded, thinke that God is a debtour vnto them for their false religion, and couetous Simony of Priests.

Q. By what markes is the disorderly administration of the Sacraments knowne?

A. When the Priests know not the intention of Christ in the Sacraments, and teach that all grace and truth is included in them, by the onely outward ceremonies, and leade men to the participation of the Sacraments, without the truth of Faith, Hope, and Charity. It is the will of the Lord, that all his should take heed of false prophets, saying, *Beware of false prophets.* And againe, *Beware of the Pharises,* that is to say, of their leuen and false doctrine. And againe, *Beleeue them not, follow not after them.* *Dauid* hateth all such persons, and therefore he saith, *I hate the congregation of the wicked.* And the Lord commandeth vs to withdraw our selues from among such people, *Numbers 16. 26. Depart from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest you be consumed in all their finnes.* And the Apostle, *2. Cor. 6. 14. Be ye not vnequally yoked together with unbeleuers, for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousnesse, and what communion hath light with darkenesse? what concord hath Christ with Belial, or what* part

part hath he that beleueth with an Infidell. And, What agreement hath the Temple of God with Idoles? Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separated, saith the Lord, and touch not the vncleane thing, and I will receiue you. Again, in the 2. Thes. 3. 12. We command and exhort you, by our Lord Iesus Christ, that ye withdraw your selues from euery brother that walketh disorderly. And in the 18. of the Reuel. 4. Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sinnes, and that ye receiue not of her plagues.

Q. By what markes may we know those that are not in the truth of the Church?

A. By their publike sinnes and erroneous faith; for we are to flie such people, least wee bee contaminated with their sinnes.

Q. By what things oughtest thou to communicate with the holy Church?

A. I must communicate with the Church in regard of the substance, by Faith, by Hope, and by Charity, and by the obseruation of the Commandements, and by finall perseuerance in that which is good.

Q. How many Ministeriall things are there?

A. Two, the Word, and the Sacraments.

Q. How many Sacraments are there?

A. Two, that is to say, Baptisme, and the Supper of the Lord.

Q. What is the third vertue necessary to saluation?

A. Hope.

Q. What is Hope?

A. It is a certaine expectation of the grace and glory to come.

Q. By what meanes doe we hope for grace?

A. By the Mediatour Iesus Christ, of whom Saint

Iohn

Iohn speaketh, Chap. 1. 17. Grace came by Iesus Christ. And againe, We beheld his glory full of grace and truth, and we haue all receiued of his fulnesse?

Q. What is Grace?

A. It is Redemption, Remission of sinnes, Iustification, Adoption, Sanctification.

Q. By what meanes doe wee hope for this Grace in Christ?

A. By a lively faith, and true repentance, Iesus Christ saying, Repent, and beleue the Gospell.

Q. From whence doth Hope proceed?

A. From the gift of God, and his promises: and therefore saith the Apostle, He is able to accomplish whatsoever he promiseth: for he hath promised himselfe, that at what time soeuer a sinner shall know him, and repent him of his sinnes, and hope that hee will haue mercy, pardon, and iustifie, &c.

Q. What are the things that diuere a man from this hope?

A. A dead faith, the seducing of Antichrist to any other then Christ, that is to say, to Saints, and the power of that Antichrist in his authority, words, benedictions, Sacraments, reliques of the dead. The teaching men to haue hope, by those meanes that directly oppose themselves against the Trueth, and against the Commandements of God, as Idolatry after diuers manners, and Simoniacall wickednesses, &c. Abandoning the fountaine of liuing water giuen by grace, to runne after broken cisterns, adoring, and honouring, and seruing the creature, by Prayers, and Fastings, and Sacrifices, Donations, Offerings, Pilgrimages, Inuocations, &c. Trusting thereby to attaine grace, which none can giue, but God alone in Christ Iesus. So that

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in vaine they travell, and lose their silver and their life, and doubtesse not only this life present, but that which is to come; for which cause it is said, that the hope of felons shall perishe.

Q. And what say you of the blessed Virgin Mary? For she is full of grace, as the Angel testifieth, Haile Mary full of grace, &c.

A. The blessed Virgin hath beene, and is full of grace in her selfe, but not to communicate vnto others: for her Sonne only is full of grace to bestow on others, as it is said of him; *And we all receiue of his fulnes grace for grace.*

Q. Doest thou not beleue the Communion of Saints?

A. I beleue there are two things in the which the faithfull doe communicate, the one is substantiall, the other Ministeriall: They communicate in the substantiall by the holy Ghost, in God by the merit of Iesus Christ. But they communicate in the Ministeriall or Ecclesiasticall, by the Ministry duely exercised, that is to say, by the Word, by the Sacraments, and by Prayer. I beleue the one and the other of these two Communions of Saints. The first onely in God by the Spirit, the other in the Church by Christ.

Q. In what doth life eternall consist?

A. In a lively working faith, and perseuerance therein. Our Saviour saith, John 17. 3. *This is life eternall, that they might know thee the onely true God, and Iesus Christ whom thou hast sent: And he that perseuereth to the end shall be saved. Amen.*

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A confession of finnes, common both with the *Waldenses* and *Albingenses*.

CHAP. II.

O Dio de li Rey, & Segnor de li Segnor, yo me confesso a tu, caryo soy aquel peccador que tã mal offendu, &c.



God of Kings, and Lord of Lords, I confesse my selfe vnto thee, for I am that sinner, that hath grievously offended thee, by mine ingratitude. I cannot excuse my selfe, because thou hast shewed mee what is good and what is euill. I haue knowne what thy power is, and haue vnderstood thy wisdom; I haue taken notice of thy Iustice, and seene thy goodnesse; and therefore all the euill that I haue done proceedeth from my owne corruption. O Lord forgiue me, and giue mee repentance, for I haue contemned thee by my pride and presumption, I haue giuen no credit to thy wisdom, nor obeyed thy Commandements, but I haue transgressed them all, for which I am sorry, and much displeased with my selfe. I haue not feared thy Iustice, nor thy Iudgements, but I haue committed many wickednesse, even from my cradle vnto this day, neither haue I loued thy great bountie and goodnesse as I should, and as thou hast commanded mee; but I haue giuen too great a trust vnto the deuill, by the fraile corruption of my nature; I haue followed pride and hated humilitie; and if thou pardon me not I am vndone, so deeply is sinne rooted in my heart. I am so carried away with the love of ri-

This confession is taken out of the Booke of the *Waldenses*, intituled *New comfort*.

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ches and vaine-glory, affecting the praise of men, that I beare but little loue vnto those, to whom by their good deeds I am most obliged. If therefore thou forgive mee not, there remaineth nothing for my poore soule but euerlasting perdition. Anger reigneth in my heart, because I haue not endeouored to alaye it, enuy fretteth mee because I haue no charitie. O Lord forgive me for thy goodnesse sake. I am rash, lazie, and sluggish to doe that which is good; hardie and bold to doe euill, and more then diligent. O Lord vouchsafe mee thy grace, that I may not bee of the number of the wicked. I haue not shewed my selfe thankfull for that good thou hast done vnto mee, and giuen vnto me out of thy loue, as I ought, and as thou hast commanded mee; for I haue beene alwayes, by the perverseness of my nature, disobedient vnto thee in all things. O Lord forgive mee, for I haue not serued thee, but contrarily I haue greatly offended thee. I haue beene too carefull to serue my body, and mine owne will, in many vaine thoughts and wicked desires, wherein I haue taken pleasure. I haue blinded my body, and exercised my thoughts and imaginations against thee in many wickednesses, and I haue sought after many things against thy will. Haue pitie on mee and giue mee humilitie. I haue cast vp mine eyes to behold the vaine delights and pleasures of this world, and I haue turned them away from thy countenance. I haue giuen eare to the sound of vanitie, and to wicked speeches, and it hath beene a grievous thing vnto me to vnderstand thy Law and thy Discipline. I haue committed many finnes, especially in my vnderstanding, for the stench of wickednesse hath beene more pleasing, then the diuine sweetness of thy celestiall honours;

honours; for adoring the euill, I haue therein taken greater contentment, because I haue committed many finnes, and omitted much good that I should haue done, and not acknowledging my faults, I haue endeouored to cast them vpon another. I haue not been temperate in my eating and drinking. I haue many a time and oft returned wrong for wrong, and therein I haue taken greatest pleasure. I haue a wounded body and soule. I haue stretched out my hands to touch vanitie, and I haue laboured to possesse the goods of another man, and to mischiefe my neighbour. My heart hath delighted in that I haue said, and much more in many other vaine delights and pleasures. O Lord pardon mee and giue mee chastitie. I haue ill employed the time that thou hast giuen mee, and I haue followed during my yonger yeeres, my vanities and pleasures. I haue wandred from the right way, and haue giuen an ill example by my lightnesse. I know but little good in my selfe, and I finde much euill. I haue displeased thee by my wickednesse, and condemned mine owne soule, and hated my neighbour. O Lord preferue mee that I bee not condemned. I loue my neighbour for my temporall benefit. I haue not carried my selfe faithfully, when there hath beene any question of giuing and receiuing, but I haue had respect vnto the persons, according to mine affection. I haue loued the one too much, and too much hated the other. I haue taken too little ioy and comfort in the good of the godly, and too great delight in the sinne of the wicked. And besides all the euill that I haue committed in times past vnto this present day, I haue not had any repentance, or distaste of my finnes, answerable to my manifold offences. I haue many a

time and oft returned to that wickednesse I haue committed, and now confessed, for which I am hartily forrie. O Lord God, thou knowest that I haue confessed my selfe vnto thee, and that there are yet in me many wickednesses, which I haue not recounted vnto thee, but thou knowest the wicked thoughts, the wicked words, the wicked works that I haue committed vnto this day, O Lord forgiue me, & giue me time in this life to repent me of my sins, and vouchsafe me the grace in time to come, so to hate those sins I haue committed, as that I neuer offend in that kind any more, & that I may so loue vertue and keepe it in my heart, that I may loue thee aboue all things, and feare thee in such sort, that when the houre of death shall come I may doe that that shall be pleasing vnto thee. And giue me such assistance in thee at the day of Iudgement, that I neither feare the deuill, nor any other thing may affright mee, but receiue me, and set me at thy right hand, without offence, free from all sinne. Good Lord let all this come to passe according to thy good pleasure, for thy Son Christ Iesus sake.

Amen.

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Chap. 3. Waldenses & Albingenses. 15

An Exposition of the Waldenses and Albingenses vpon the ten Commandements of the Law of GOD.

CHAP. III.

An Exposition of the first Commandement.

*Le premier Commandement de la Ley de Dio es aques-
Non aures Dio straing deuant mi. Exod. 20. &c.*

Thou shalt haue no other Gods but me.



LI they that loue the Creature more than the Creator, obserue not this Commandement: That which euery man honoureth and serueth more then GOD, that vnto him is God. And therefore saith Saint *Chrysostome* vpon *Mathew*: The euill to which a man is a seruant, is to him a God. So that if any man shall say, I cannot know, whether I loue more or lesse GOD, or the thing God forbids mee to loue; let him know, that what a man loues least, in a case of necessity, is that which he is most willing to loose; and that which he loues, is that which he keepeth and preserueth. As it is the manner of Merchants to doe, if when they are in danger of drowning, they willingly cast their Merchandize into the Sea, to saue their liues, they loue their liues better then their Merchandize: So thinke thou with thy selfe, that if vpon any occasion, thou hadst rather loose thy temporall things, or receiue any losse or hinderance in them, as in thy Money, thy Houses, thy Cattell,

Taken out of
the Booke of
the Waldenses,
intituled, The
Booke of ver-
tues, pag. 197.

Cattell, thy Wife, thy Children, yea, thine owne body, then commit any sinne by which thou must loose God, then doubtlesse thou louest God more then all things aboue mentioned. But contrarily, if thou haddest rather sinne, then loose these temporall things, then certainly thou doest adore and serue these things more then God, and thou art an Idolater. And this doth our Sauour affirme in the Gospell, saying; If any man come vnto me, and hateth not his Father and his Mother, his Wife and Children, his Brothers and Sisters, yea, and his owne soule, hee cannot be my Disciple. All such offend against this Commandement, &c.

The rest touching this Commandement, is before in the 1. Booke of the History of the Waldenses; Chap. 4.

An Exposition of the 2. Commandement.

Tu ne te feras image taillee, &c.

Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any grauen Image, &c.

THou shalt make thee no Image, cut out of stone or wood, or any other thing, which may be cut into any figure, or picture, or in any other manner whatsoever, *that is in Heauen aboue*, as the Angels, the Sunne, the Moone, the Starres; *nor in the Earth beneath*, as Men, and other Creatures, as the Egyptians doe: *nor in the waters*, as the Fish: For the Philistines serued *Dagon*, which was an Idol, which had a head like a Fish: *Nor vnder the Earth*, as the Diuels; as they of *Acheron*, who worshipped *Beelzebub*. *Thou shalt not worship them*; by doing them outward reuerence, nor serue them with inward reuerence. Neither shalt thou doe any worke that may tend to the honour and reuerence of them.

them. So hee manifestly forbiddeth to make any grauen Image of any thing, to the end to serue and adore it. And therefore it is wonderfull, that there are some that frame vnto themselves Figures and Images, and attribute vnto them by their ignorance, and against the Commandement of God, the honour and reuerence which belongeth to one onely God.

Obiect. But there are some that say, that Images are Lay-mens Bookes, who not being able to reade in Bookes, may see that vpon a wall, which they cannot reade.

Answer. To whom wee may answer, that the Lord saith to his Disciples, in the first Chapter of Saint *Matthew*; *We are the salt of the Earth, the light of the World*. For the life and conuersation of the Pastors ought to be the Booke of their Flockes. And if a man should grant that they are Bookes, yet they are false, and ill written. For if Lay-people shall take example by those Images and figures of the liues of Saints, it is most certaine that it is impossible. For the Virgin *Mary* was an example of humility, pouerty, and chastity, and they adorne her Image, rather with vestments of pride, then humility. So that the Lay-people doe not reade in their habits humility, but pride and auarice, if they conforme themselves to the said Bookes corrupted, and ill written. For the Priests and the people in these dayes, are couetous, proud, and luxurious; and therefore they cause their Images to be pictured like themselves. And therefore saith *Dauid*, *Thou thinkest foolishly that I am like vnto thee*.

Obiect. But there are others that say; We worship the visible Images, in honour of the inuisible God.

Answer. This is false. For if wee will truly honour

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nour the Image of GOD, by doing good vnto men, we serue and honour the Image of GOD: For the Image of GOD is in euery man, but the resemblance or likenesse of God, is not in all, but onely in those where the thought is pure, and the soule humble. But if we will truly honour God, wee giue place vnto the truth; that is to say, wee doe good vnto men that are made after the Image of God: we doe honour vnto God, when we giue meate to those that hunger, drink to those that thirst, & cloath to those that are naked. And therefore what honour doe wee giue vnto God, when we serue him in a stock, or a stone; when we adore idle Figures without soules, as if there were some diuinity in them; and contemne man, who is the true Image of God? Saint *Chrysostome* vpon *Mathew* saith; That the Image of God cannot be painted or pictured in gold, but figured in man. The Money of *Cesar* is gold, but the money of God is man. And therefore if the Iewes were commanded vnder the Law, that they should destroy all the figures and Images, and addict themselues to one onely God; as it is written in the first Booke of the *Kings*. But *Samuel* said to all the House of Israel: If you turne vnto the Lord with all your heart, and remoue from you all your strange Gods, and keepe your heart vnto the Lord, and serue him onely, he will deliuer you from the hands of the *Philistines*. Much lesse then ought Christians to depend vpon such signes and Images which the Iewes did not; but they ought rather to lift vp their affections vnto Christ, who sitteth at the right hand of God.

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An Exposition of the 3. Commandement.

Tu ne prendras point le nom du Seigneur ton Dieu en vain, &c.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vaine, &c.

IN this Commandement, we are forbidden to sweare falsly, vainely, and by custome, as it is written, *Leuit.* 19. *The man that is accustomed to sweare, shall bee filled with iniquity, and the plague shall not depart from his house.* An oath confesseth God to know the truth, and it is to confirme a thing doubtfull; for an oath is an act of Gods seruice: and therefore they that sweare by the Elements doe sinne. This is the reason why Christ Iesus forbiddeth vs to sweare by any thing, neither by the heauen, nor by the earth, or any thing else, but that our speech bee, Yea, yea, and No, no, and whatsoeuer is otherwise is sinne. And Saint *James* in the fift Chapter of his Epistle saith. *Above all things, my brethren, sweare not, neither by heauen, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath, lest ye fall into condemnation.*

An Exposition of the 4. Commandement.

Souuienne toy du iour du repos, &c.

Remember thou keepe holy the Sabbath day, &c.

THEY that will keepe and obserue the Sabbath of Christians, that is to say, Sanctifie the day of the Lord,

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Lord, must be carefull of foure things: The first is to cease from all earthly and worldly labours: The second, not to sinne: The third, not to be idle in regard of good workes: The fourth, to doe those things that are for the good and benefit of the soule. Of the first it is said, *In sixe dayes shalt thou labour and doe all that thou hast to doe, but the seventh is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God, in it thou shalt doe no manner of worke*: and in Exodus it is said, *Keepe my Sabbath, for it is holy; he that polluteth it shall die the death*: and in the Booke of Numbers we reade that one of the children of Israel being seene to gather stickes vpon the Sabbath day, hee was brought vnto *Moses*, who not knowing what course to take therein, the Lord said vnto *Moses*; *This man shall die the death, all the people shall stone him with stones, and he shall die*. God would that his Sabbath should be kept with such reuerence, that the children of Israel durst not to gather Manna therein, when it was giuen them from heauen.

The second thing which we are to obserue, is, to preserve our selues from sinne, as it is said in Exodus, Remember to sanctifie the day of rest, that is, to obserue it, by keeping thy selfe carefully from sinne. And therefore saith Saint *Augustine*, It is better to labour and to dig the earth vpon the Lords day, then to bee drunke, or to commit any other sinnes; for sinne is a seruile worke, by which a man serues the deuill. Againe, he saith that it is better to labour with profit, then to range and roame abroad idly: For the day of the Lord was not ordained to the end that a man should cease from worldly good workes, and giue himselfe vnto sinne; but to the end he should addict himselfe to spirituall labours, which are better then the worldly,

worldly, and that hee repent himselfe of those sinnes he hath committed, the whole Sabbath throughout: for idlenesse is the Schoole-master of all euill. *Seneca* saith, It is a sepulchre of a liuing man.

The fourth thing is to doe that which may be good and profitable to the soule; as to think on God, deuoutly to pray vnto him, dilligently to heare his Word and Commandements, to giue thanks vnto God for all his benefits, to instruct the ignorant, to correct the erroneous, and to preserve our selues from all sinne, to the end that saying of *Esaie* might bee accomplished; *Repent you of your sinnes, and learne to doe good*: for rest is not good, if it bee not accompanied with good workes.

An Exposition of the 5. Commandement.

These Commandements tell vs how we are to carry our selues towards our neighbours.

Non sentend tant solament de la reuerentia de fora, &c.

Honour thy father and thy mother, &c.

WEe are not to vnderstand these words, as if the question were onely touching outward reuerence, but also concerning matter of complement, and things necessary for them: and therefore wee are to doe that which is enioyned in this Commandement, for that honour which is due vnto fathers and mothers: for we receive from them three excellent gifts, that is to say, our Being, our Nourishment, and our Instruction, which we are neuer able fully to recompence.

penche. The Wiseman saith, *Honour thy father, and forget not the sorrows of thy mother*: Remember that by them thou hast had thy being, render then a recompence answerable to the price they haue given thee: and therefore hauing regard to that naturall being which we haue receiued from our father and mother, we are to serue them in all humility and reuerence, after a threefold manner. First with all the power of our bodies, wee are to support their bodies, and to yeeld them the seruice of our hands. As the wise man speaketh, *He that feares God, will honour his Father and his Mother, and will serue them as his Lords that haue begotten him*. Againe, wee must serue our Fathers and Mothers with all our power, neuer debating or questioning with them with hard and bitter speeches; but wee must answer them humbly, and hearken louingly to their reprehensions. *Proverbs 1.8. My sonne heare the instruction of thy Father, and forsake not the Law of thy Mother*. He that shall curse his Father and Mother, his Lampe shall be put out in the midst of darkenesse. We must likewise honor them, by administring vnto them things necessary for this life. For Fathers and Mothers haue nourished their Children with their owne flesh, their proper substance; and Children nourish their Parents with that which is without their flesh, being impossible they should restore vnto them those benefits they haue receiued of them.

And touching the instruction wee haue receiued of our Parents, wee must obey them in whatsoever shall tend to our saluation, and to a good end. *Ephes. 6. Children obey your Parents in the Lord, for this is right*. Of which obedience, Christ hath given vs an example, as it is in the second Chapter of Saint Luke: *And he went*

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downe with them, and was obedient to his Father and Mother. And therefore honour first thy Father that hath created thee; then thy Father that hath begotten thee, and thy Mother that hath borne thee in her wombe, and hath brought thee forth, to the end thy dayes may be prolonged vpon the Earth, and that persevering in that which is good, thou mayest passe out of this world to an euermlasting inheritance.

An Exposition vpon the 6. Commandement.

En aquest Commandement es desfen du specialment l'homicidi, &c.

Thou shalt not kill.

MVrder is especially forbidden in this Commandement: but more generally, to hurt our Neighbour in any manner whatsoever, as with words, detractions, iniuries, or deeds, as to strike our Neighbour. Of the first sort it is said, *Mathew 5.22. Whofoeuer is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of iudgement*. And Saint James saith, Chapter 1.20. *The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God*. And Saint Paul, *Ephes. 3. Let not the Sunne goe downe vpon your anger*. He that is angry with his brother without cause, is worthy of iudgement; but not hee that is angry vpon iust occasion. For if a man should not be angry sometimes, the doctrine were not profitable, neither would the iudgement bee discerned, nor sinne punished. And therefore iust anger is the Mother of discipline, and they that in such a case are not angry, sinne: for that patience that is without reason, is the seed of vices, it nourish-

nourisheth negligence, it suffereth not onely the bad to swerue, but the good too: For when the euill is corrected, it vanisheth. So that it is plaine, that anger is sometimes good, when it is for the loue of righteousness, or when a man is angry with his owne sinnes, or the sinnes of another man. Thus was Christ angry with the Pharises. The other sort of anger is wicked, which proceedeth from a desire of reuenge, which is forbidden. Vengeance belongs vnto me (saith the Lord) and I will reuenge.

An Exposition vpon the 7. Commandement.

Loqual Commandament defend tota non licita cubilia, &c.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

THis Commandement forbids all vnlawfull lust, and pollution of the flesh, as it is said in the fift by Saint Matthew: *He that looketh vpon a woman, and lusteth after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.* And in the fift of the Apostle to the Ephesians, it is said: *This ye know, that no whoremonger, nor vncleane person, nor couetous man, shall inherite the Kingdome of God.* And in the 1 Corinthians 6. 9. *Be not deceived, neither fornicators, nor vncleane persons, shall inherite the Kingdome of Heauen.* And in the 5. Chapter: *If any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or couetous, &c. Eate not with such a one.* Now as there is a corporall whoredome, so there is a spirituall; that is to say, when a man separateth himselfe from God.

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An Exposition of the 8. Commandement.

En aquest Commandement es deffendu totalment furt es fraud de cosas stragnas, &c.

Thou shalt not steale.

IN this Commandement we are forbid all manner of theft, and all vnlawfull meanes, to get vnto our selues the goods of another by fraud or auarice, or iniury, or violence: For they are not onely theeues, that take the goods of another, but they that command them, that receiue theeues into their Houses, and that buy stolen goods, and make profit of them wittingly. All they that doe such things, and they that consent thereunto, they shall suffer equall punishment: or if thou finde any thing, and restorest it not, thou hast robbed thy Neighbour; for thou art bound to make restitution of that thou hast found. They that depriue their subiects of their goods and commodities, as Lords vse to doe, imposing vniust charges and taxations, ouer-burthening the poore by their wicked inuentions, and if they refuse to doe it, they imprison them, and many times torment them euen to the death, and so take from them their goods vniustly, they are theeues. Of these the Prophet *Esay* speaketh, Chapter 1. 23. *Thy Princes are rebellious, and companions of Theeues, and follow after rewards.* They are also Theeues that retaine the wages of the labourer by fraud. Of such it is said in the 19 of *Leuiticus*, *The wages of him that is hired, shall not abide with thee all night untill the morning.* And as Saint James speaketh in his fift Chapter, *Ye that haue heaped treasure together for*

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the last dayes, Behold the hire of the Labourers, which haue reaped downe your fields, which is of you kept backe by fraud, cryeth, and the cries of them which haue reaped, are entred into the eares of the Lord of Hosts. They play the theeuers that hurt the weale publike, as Coyners, in the weight, number, value, and generally all such as falsifie their weights and measures, and diuers Merchandizes; these are called robbers of the common good, and such according to the Law are to be put to death in boyling oyle. They are Theeuers that labour to get by fraud, that deceiue men in their wares and merchandize, selling bad for good. Also Gamblers, who inuite others to gaming, who play out of auarice, the roote of all euill, rapine, lying, vaine and idle speeches, oaths, blasphemies against God, ill example, the losse of time. Thus by playing, a man winds himselfe vniuently into the goods of another man.

An Exposition on the 9. Commandement.

En aquest Commandement non es solament deffendula mellozua, ma tota offensa, &c.

Thou shalt not beare false witness against thy Neighbour.

IN this Commandement, we are not onely forbidden to lye, but all offences that may be done vnto our Neighbours, by false or fained words or workes. For all such as lye, are the Children of the Diuell, as also they that impeach the honour of their Neighbour by lying, or beare false witness for the wicked. Hee that beares false witness, saith Saint Augustine, wrongs

wrongs these three. First God, whose presence is thereby contemned. Secondly the Iudge, who is deceiued by him that lieth. And thirdly he wrongs the Innocent partie, who is oppressed by his false witness. All detractors sinne against this Commandement. A detractor or slanderer is compared to an open sepulchre, as David speaketh, *Their mouth is an open sepulchre.* There is no graue so loathsome vnto God, as the mouth of a slanderer. And this was that that made S. Ambrose to say, that a thiefe is more to be boren with then a detractor; for the one robbeth a man of his corporall substance one y, the other of his good name. The slanderer deserueth to be hated of God and man. The stroke of the whip maketh marks in the flesh, but the stroke of the tongue breaketh the bones.

An Exposition of the 10. Commandement.

En aquest Commandement es deffendula Cubitina de turis ben, &c.

Thou shalt not couet, &c.

IN this Commandement is forbidden the couetous desire of all goods, that is, of wife, seruants, fields, vineyards, houses, &c. As also the concupiscence of the eyes, and of the flesh. The lust of the flesh, is like a running water, but the lust of the eyes is like earth, by reason of our earthly affections. And as of water and earth, there is made a materiall dirt, so of concupiscence is made the spirituall dirt and dunghill of the soule, which maketh a man odious vnto God, From hence ariseth the pride of life, which like a violent

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winde disquieteth the soule, and turneth this earthly lumpe into dust.

The conclusion of the Exposition of the
Commandements.

Aquesti son li dies Commandement de la Ley, &c.

THese are the ten Commandements of the Law, whereof the first concerne our duty to God, the latter towards our neighbour. And whosoever will be saued, must keepe these Commandements. Many excellent blessings are promised to those that keepe these Commandements, and to those that transgresse them, many grievous and horrible maledictions. As *Deut. 28.* *If wee truly acknowledge our sinnes, we know that we are farre from God:* For saluation is farre from sinners, and the knowledge of sinne bringeth vs to repentance, for no man can repent that knoweth not his sinne. The first degree to saluation is the knowledge of sinne; and therefore acknowledging our fault, we approach with confidence to the throne of the grace of God, and confesse our sinnes: for hee is faithfull and iust to pardon our sinnes, and to cleanse vs from all iniquitie, and to bring vs to the life of grace. Amen.

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A brieft Exposition of the *Waldenses* and *Albingenses* of the Apostles Creed, confirming the Articles thereof by expresse passages of the Scripture.

CHAP. IIII.

Nos deuon creyre en Dio Paire tot Poissant, &c.



EE must beleue in God the Father Almighty, maker of heauen and earth, which God is one Trinitie, as it is written in the Law, *Deut. 6. 4.* *Heare O Israel, the Lord our God, is one Lord.* And the Prophet *Esay*, *I am Lord, and there is none other, neither is there any God but I:* And Saint *Paul*, in the 4. to the *Ephes.* *There is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptisme, one God, and one Father of all.* And Saint *Iohn*, 1. *Epist.* 5. 7. *There are three that beare record in heauen, the Father, the Word, and the holy Ghost, and these three are one.* And in the Gospel by Saint *Iohn* it is said, *Chap. 17. 11.* *That the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost are one;* when our Sauour saith, *That they may be one, as we are one.* Againe, wee must beleue that this holy Trinitie hath created all things visible, and that he is Lord of all things celestiall, terrestriall, and infernall, as it is said in Saint *Iohn*, *Chap. 1. 3.* *All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made, that was made:* And in the *Reuelation* it is said, *Chap. 4. 11.* *Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receiue glory, for thou hast created all things, the heauens, the earth, and the sea, and the fountaines of water.* And the Prophet *Dauid* saith, *And*

thou, O Lord, hast founded the earth in the beginning, and the heavens are the workes of thy hands. And againe, The heavens are framed by the word of the Lord, and all the powers thereof by the breath of his mouth. All these, and diuers other testimonies and reasons drawne from the Scriptures, doe affirme that God created all things of nothing, whatsoeuer they be.

Againe, we must beleue that God the Father hath sent his Sonne from heauen vnto earth, and that for our sakes hee hath taken vpon him our flesh in the wombe of the Virgin Mary for our saluation; as the Prophet Esay speaketh, Chap. 7. 14. Behold a Virgin shall conceive and beare a Sonne, and his name shall be Emmanuell, which is God with vs. And the Lord saith in the Gospel, that this hath beene accomplished, saying, I am come from my Father into the world; and againe, I haue left the world, and goe to my Father. And againe, Saint Iohn saith, Chap. 1. 14. The Word was made flesh, and dwells amongst vs. And in the first Epistle of Iohn 5. 20. Wee know that the Sonne of God is come, and that hee hath taken our flesh vpon him for vs, and is raised againe from death for vs, and hath giuen vs understanding, that wee may know him that is true, and wee are in him that is true, even in his Sonne Iesus Christ. This is the true God and eternall life. And in the fourth to the Galatians 4. When the fulnesse of time was come, God sent forth his Sonne made of a woman, made vnder the Law, to redeeme them that were vnder the Law: who by the commandement of God the Father, and his owne free will, was lifted vp vpon the altar of the crosse, and crucified, and hath redeemed mankinde with his owne blood; which ha-
 uing accomplished, he arose from death the third day, hauing dispersed in the world a light euermlasting, like a

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new sunne, that is, the glory of the resurrection, and heavenly inheritance, which the same Sonne of God hath promised to giue to all those that in faith serue him. For ascending vp vnto heauen the fortieth day after his resurrection, and the tenth after his ascension, hee sent the holy Ghost from heauen to comfort his Apostles, and to replenish his Church with the same Spirit. We must beleue that the same God hath chosen vnto himselfe a glorious Church, without spot or wrinkle, or such like thing, as Saint Paul speaketh, to the end it should be holy and vndefiled, according to the commandement of the Almighty; Be ye holy, for I am holy. And in the first of Saint Matthew, Be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect: for nothing that doth commit abomination shall enter into the Kingdom of God, but onely they that are written in the Booke of life, as it is sayd in the Reuelation.

We must beleue the generall resurrection, of which our Sauour speaketh in the Gospell of Saint Iohn; The houre shall come when all they that are in their graues shall heare the voyce of the Sonne of God, and they that haue done euill, to the resurrection of Iudgement. And Saint Paul saith in the first to the Corinthians, that all shall arise, and all shall be changed. And Iob saith, Chap. 19. 25. I know that my Redeemer liueth, and that hee shall stand at the latter day vpon the earth; and though after my skin, wormes destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God; whom I shall see for my selfe, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another, though my reins be consumed within mee.

We must beleue the generall Iudgement vpon all the children of Adam, as the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament doe affirme. As our Sauour promisseth

promiseth in the 25. of *Matth.* 31. *When the Sonne of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy Angels with him, then shall hee sit upon the throne of his glory; and before him shall bee gathered all nations; and hee shall separate them one from another, as a shepheard divideth his sheepe from the goates; and hee shall set the sheepe on his right hand and the goates on the left.* And *Iude* in his Epistle, *Vers.* 15. *Behold the Lord commeth with ten thousand of his Saints, to execute iudgement upon all.* And the Prophet *Esay* saith, *The Lord commeth in iudgement with the Ancients of his people, and with his young men also.* These things are set downe in the Old and New Testament, and especial y the foure Euangelists, and the Prophets witnesse it in many places.

CHAP. V.

An Exposition of the *Waldenses* and *Albingenses* vpon the Lords Prayer.

Taken out of a Booke of the *Waldenses*, intitled, *The treasure of faith.*



Aint Augustine being requested by a spirituall Daughter of his, to teach her to pray, hath thus said; and written: That multitudes of words, are not necessary in prayer. But to pray much, is to be seruient in prayer. And therefore to be long in prayer, is to present things necessary in superfluous words. To pray much, is to solicit that we pray for with a seemely decency and affection of heart, which is better done by teares, then by words; because God who seeth the secrets of our heart, is more moued with a deepe grone or sigh, by plaints and teares that come from the heart, then by a thousand words.

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But many there are in these dayes that resemble the Pagans, to whom Christ would not haue his Disciples to be like; for they thinke and beleue that they shall bee the rather heard for their many words in their prayers: whereby it comes to passe, that they loose much time vnder a pretence of prayer. *Iob* saith, & besides experience makes it good, that a man is neuer in the same estate in this life, but hee is now disposed to doe one thing, and presently to doe another. And therefore there is no man that can keepe his minde, his spirit, bent and attentue to prayer, a whole day or a whole night together, except God giue the especial assistance of his grace. And if a man hath not his heart settled vpon that which he speaketh, he looseth his time, because hee prayes in vaine, and his soule is troubled, and his minde wandring another way. And therefore God hath appointed to his seruants other exercises, vertuous, spirituall, and corporall, wherein a man may ordinarily exercise himselfe, sometimes in one, sometimes in another, either for themselves, or their Neighbours, hauing their hearts lifted vp vnto God, with all their power, in such sort that they may not bee idle. And therefore that man that liues well, according to the will of God, and the Doctrine of his Saints, prayeth alwayes. For euery good worke is a good prayer vnto God. And as for thou that readeest, know that all the prayers of the old and new Testament, doe agree with this; and that no prayer can be pleasing vnto God, that hath not a reference some way or other vnto this. And therefore euery Christian ought to apply himselfe to vnderstand and to learne this prayer, which Christ himselfe hath taught with his owne mouth.

Now it is necessary that he that is heard of God, be

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agreeable

agreeable vnto him, and know those benefits hee hath receiued from him. For ingratitude is a winde that dryeth vp the Fountaine of the mercy and compassion of our God. And therefore if thou wilt pray, or aske any thing at Gods hand, thinke with thy selfe before thou aske, what and how great benefits thou hast receiued from him, and if thou canst not call them all to minde, yet at the least forget not to beg that grace, that thou mayest be bold to call him Father. And thinke and know in how diuers a manner he is thy Father: for hee is the Father of all Creatures generally by creation, for he hath created them all. He is a Father by distribution, for he hath ordained them, and disposed them all in his due place, as being very good. By preservation; for he hath preserved all Creatures, that they faile not in their kinde, amongst which his Creatures thou art one. And besides, hee is the Father of mankind by redemption, for hee hath bought him with the precious blood of his Sonne, the Lambe without spot: By instruction, for he hath taught him by his Prophets, by his Sonne, and by his Apostles and Doctors, and that after a diuers manner, the way to returne into Paradise, from whence wee were driuen by the sinne of our first Father *Adam*. By chastisement, for he chastiseth and correcteth vs in this life diuers wayes, to the end wee may returne vnto him, and not be condemned eternally in another life.

Lo teo nom sia sanctifica.

Hallowed be thy Name.

THy Name, amiable to Christians, and fearefull to the Iewes, to *Paynims*, and to the wicked. Of this name

name saith the Prophot, O Lord, thy Name is admirable, and wonderfull. O our Father which art in Heauen, we humbly beseech thee, that thy Name which is holy, be sanctified in vs, by purity of heart, by the contempt of the flesh and the world, and that by an assured perseuerance of thy loue, wee may be holy as thy name is holy, which we beare, and by which wee are called Christians. For which cause, let it be and dwell alwayes in vs, that wee may addict our selues to holinesse and righteousnesse.

Lo teo regne vegne.

Thy Kingdome come.

YOU must vnderstand that God the Father hath two Kingdomes, the one of glory, life eternall; the other of grace, the life Christian. And these two Kingdomes are ioyned together, in such manner, that betwixt them there is no middle, but the point of death. But according to the order of diuine Iustice, the Kingdome of grace is before the Kingdome of glory. And therefore they that liue in the Kingdome of grace, by which we are to passe, if wee will enter the Kingdome of glory, without doubt they shall raigne in the Kingdome of glory; and no man can reigne there by any other meanes. And therefore Christ our Lord saith vnto his Disciples, *Seeke first the Kingdome of God, and the righteousnesse thereof*, that is, the Kingdome of grace and vertue, as Faith, Hope, Charity, and the rest. But forasmuch as you cannot performe this of your selues, without the heavenly grace, beg it at Gods hands, saying; *O our Father which art in Heauen, thy Kingdome come; that*

is to say, the loue of vertue, and the hatred of the World.

La tua voluntà sia fatta, enaيمي es fatta en cel sia fatta en terra.

Thy will be done in Earth as it is in Heauen.

A Man cannot affect, desire, or doe any better thing in this life, then to endeouour with all his wit and vnderstanding, and with all his heart, to doe the will of God, as the Angels doe it in Heauen. Now to doe the will of God, is to renounce himselfe; that is to say, his owne proper will, and to dispose and employ that which is in his owne soule and heart, or that is without him, in things temporall, according to the Law of God, and the Doctrine of the Gospell of Christ Iesus. And to be well content with whatsoeuer it shall please God to doe or permit, both in aduersity and prosperity. Many there are who thinke they are to be excused, because they know not the will of God. But these men deceiue themselues. For the will of God is written, and plainly manifested and proued by the word of God, which they will not reade or vnderstand. And therefore saith the Apostle, *Conforme not your selues vnto those that loue the World, but be reformed and renewed in the truth of your vnderstanding, so the end you may know what is the will of God.* And againe, this is the will of God, euen your sanctification. There is no worke that is little, if it be done with a willing and feruent affection. And our Sauour teacheth his Disciples both by words and examples, that the will of God must be done, not theirs; saying, *I am come into the world, not to doe my will,*
but

but to doe the will of my Father who hath sent me. Again, being neere his passion, and seeing the torments of death which he was to endure, as he was man, he cryed out, *O my Father, if it be possible, let this Cup passe from me; but yet not my will, but thy will be done.* To be brieft, we must thus pray in all our affaires. *O our Father which art in Heauen.* Thy will be done in vs, by vs, and of vs in Earth, as it is done by the Angels in Heauen, without idlenesse continually, without fault vprightly, without humane desire, doing that which is good, leading a vertuous and a pure life, obeying our superiours, and contemning this World.

Dona nos lo nostre pan quotidian enchoi.

Giue vs this day our daily bread.

WE may heere vnderstand two kinds of bread, Corporall and Spirituall. By Corporall bread wee are to vnderstand our meates and drinckes, and clothing, and all things necessary for the body, without which we cannot liue naturally. The Spirituall Bread is the Word of God, the Body of Christ, without which the Soule cannot liue. And of this Bread Christ spake vnto his Disciples; *Who soeuer shall eate of this bread, shall liue eternally.* And therefore it is the dutie of euery man, in all humilitie to aske this Bread at Gods hands, who can giue it him, saying, *O our Father, doe vs the grace and fauour, that wee may obtaine by our iust labour, the bread that is necessary for our bodies, and to vse it with sobriety and measure, yeelding thee alwayes thanks and praises, and that wee may charitably bestow some part of them vpon the poore.*
Eccc 3 More.

Moreouer we beseech thee that thou wilt bee pleased, so to deale with vs, that wee may vse this bread with sobriety to thy glory, and the good both of body and soule. For the Prophet Ezekiel saith, *Chap. 16. 49. That fulnesse of bread, and abundance of idlenesse, was the cause of the iniquities and abominations of Sodom, which were so great in the sight of God, that he sent downe fire and brimstone to consume them.* Whereupon a certaine learned Father saith, that costly apparrell, superfluitie in dier, play, idlenesse and sleepe, fatten the body, nourish luxurie, weaken the spirit, and leade the soule vnto death; but a spare diet, labour, short sleepe, poore garments, purifie the soule, tame the body, mortifie the lusts of the flesh, and comfort the Spirit.

The Spirituall Bread is the Word of God. Of this Bread the Prophet speaketh; *Thy bread quickeneth mee.* And Christ saith in the Gospell; *Verily I say vnto you, that the houre commeth, when the dead shall heare the voyce of the Sonne of God, and they that heare him shall liue.* And this is found true by this experience: That is, that many being dead in their sinnes, hearing the Preaching of the Word of God, haue departed, quickned, & raised, by the said Word of God, & betaken themselues to true repentance which giueth life. This bread of the Word illuminateth the soule, according to that of *David, Psal. 119. 130. The entrance of thy word giueth light, it giueth vnderstanding to the simple;* that is to say, to the humble, to the end they may know what to beleue and to doe, what to feare, to flye, to loue, to hope. This bread delighteth the soule more then honey and the honey-combe. And therefore saith the Spouse, *Canticles 2. 11. Let me heare thy voyce, for sweete is thy voyce, and thy countenance is comely.* There is another Spirituall

Spirituall Bread, and that is the Body and Blood of our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ. In the Sacrament, they that receiue it worthily, receiue not onely grace, but Christ the Sonne of God spiritually, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom.

Pardonna a nos li nostre debit o pecca, coma nos perdonnen a li nostre debitor o offendadors.

Forgiue vs our trespasses, as we forgiue them that trespasse against vs.

IT should not seeme, or bee, grieuous to any man to forgiue his neighbour those offences hee hath committed against him. For if all the offences which haue beene, or can bee committed against all the men in the world were put into a ballance, they would not weigh so much, being put altogether, as the least offence committed against God: but the pride of man will not suffer men to thinke heereof, neither to pardon their neighbours, nor to receiue their pardon from God. But a good Christian suffereth and gently pardoneth, beseeching God, that hee may not make requitall according to the euill his debtors, or such as haue offended him, haue deserved, and that he will giue them grace to know their fault, and withall true repentance, to the end they may not bee damned; and the wrongs done vnto him, he accounteth as dreames, in such manner, that hee thinkes not of repaying them according to their merits, nor desires to reuenge himselfe, but to doe them seruice, and to conuerse with them as before, yea, and with greater loue then if they were brethren. And therefore hee that out of the crueltie of his heart, will by no meanes forgiue his enemy or debtour, cannot

not hope for pardon at Gods hand, but rather eternall damnation. For the Spirit of God hath spoken it, and it is true: Hee shall haue Iudgement without mercy that is not mercifull to others. The affection and the will that thou hast towards thy debtour, is the same which God hath in his place and ranke, and thou canst hope for no other.

Non nos amenar ententation, &c.

And leade vs not into temptation, &c.

WE are not to pray vnto God, not to suffer vs. to bee tempted: For the Apostle Saint Paul saith, *None shall be crowned but he that fighteth against the world, the flesh, and the deuill.* And Saint James saith, *that he is blessed that endureth temptation.* For when hee hath past his tryall, hee shall receiue a crowne of life. For no man can resist the power of the deuill without the grace of God. Wee must therefore pray, with all humilitie and deuotion, and continuall requests vnto our heavenly Father that wee fall not into temptations, but so as that combating with them, wee may get the victory, and the Crowne, by and through his grace, which hee hath prepared to giue vnto vs. We are not to beleue that he doth sooner heare, or more willingly, the Diuell then the Christian; and according to that which the Apostle Saint Paul saith, *God is faithfull, who suffereth vs not to bee tempted aboue our power.*

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Mas desliora nos del mal, &c.

But deliuer vs from euill, &c.

THat is to say, Deliuer vs from a wicked will to sinne: from the temporall and eternall paines of the deuill: that wee may bee deliuered from his infinite toyles and trumperies. *AMEN.* This last word noteth vnto vs, the seruent desire of him, that prayeth that that thing may bee granted vnto him that hee asketh. And this word *Amen*, is as much as if he should say, So bee it, and it may bee put after all our Petitions.

What the *Waldenses* and *Albingenses* haue beleueed and taught touching the Sacraments.

CHAP. VI.

Sacrament second lo dire de Sanct Augustin, &c.



Sacrament, according to the saying of Saint *Augustine*, in his Booke of the Citie of God, is an inuisible grace represented by a visible thing. Or a Sacrament is a signe of a holy thing. There is great difference betwixt the bare Sacrament, and the cause of the Sacrament, even as much as betweene signe and the thing signified. For the cause of the Sacrament is the Diuine grace, and the

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merit of Iesus Christ crucified, who is the rayling of those that were fallen. This cause of the Sacrament, is Powerfully, Essentially, and by authority in God, and in Iesus Christ Meritoriously. For by the cruell Passion and effusion of his Bloud, he hath obtained grace and righteousness vnto all the faithfull. But the thing it selfe of the Sacrament, is in the soule of the faithfull, by participation, as Saint Paul speaketh; *Wee haue bene made partakers of Christ*. It is in the Word of the Gospell, by annunciation, or manifestation. In the Sacraments, Sacramentally. For the Lord Iesus hath lent, or given these helpes of the outward Sacraments, to the end the Ministers, instructing in the faith, should so accommodate themselues to humane weakenesse, as that they might the better edifie the people by the Word of the Gospell.

There are two Sacraments: The one of water, the other of nourishment, that is to say, of Bread and Wine.

The first is called Baptisme, that is to say in our language, the washing with water, either of the riuer or the fountaine, and it must be administred, *In the name of the Father, of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost*; to the end that first, by the meanes of the grace of God the Father, beholding his Sonne, and by the participation of Iesus Christ, who hath bought vs, and by the renewing of the holy Ghost, which imprinteth a liuely faith in our hearts, the sinnes of those that are Baptized, are pardoned, and they receiued into grace, and afterwards having perseuered therein, are saued in Iesus Christ.

The Baptisme wherewith wee are Baptized, is the same wherewith it pleased our Sauour himselfe to be Baptized,

Baptized, to accomplish all righteousness, as it was his will to be Circumcised, and wherewith hee commanded his Apostles to be Baptized.

The things that are not necessary in Baptisme, are the Exorcismes, the breathings, the signes of the Crosse vpon the Infant, either the brest or the forehead, the salt put into the mouth, the spittle into the eares and nostrills, the vnction of the brest, the Monkes Cowle, the anoynting of the Chresme vpon the head, and diuers the like things, consecrated by the Bishop, as also the putting of the Taper in his hands, clothing it with a white veltment, the blessing of the water, the dipping of it thrice in the water: All these things used in the administration of the Sacrament, are not necessary, they neither being of the substance, nor requisite in the Sacrament of Baptisme, from which things many take occasion of errour and superstition, rather then edification to saluation.

Now this Baptisme is visible and materiall, which maketh the partie neither good nor euill, as it appeareth in the Scripture, by *Simon Magus*, and Saint Paul. And whereas Baptisme is administred in a full congregation of the faithfull, it is to the end that he that is receiued into the Church, should be reputed and held of all for a Christian brother, and that all the Congregation might pray for him, that hee may be a Christian in heart, as he is outwardly esteemed to bee a Christian. And for this cause it is that we present our children in Baptisme; which they ought to doe, to whom the children are neere, as their parents, and they to whom God hath giuen this Charitie.

Of the Supper of our Lord Iesus Christ.

AS Baptisme which is taken visibly, is as an Enrolment into the number of faithfull Christians, which carrieth in it selfe protestation and promise to follow Christ Iesus, and to keepe his holy Ordinances, and to liue according to his holy Gospell; So the holy Supper and Communion of our blessed Sauour, the breaking of bread, and the giuing of thanks, is a visible communion made with the members of Iesus Christ. For they that take and breake one and the same bread, are one and the same body, that is to say, the Body of Iesus Christ, and they are members one of another, ingrafted and planted in him, to whom they protest and promise to perseuere in his seruice to their liues end, neuer departing from the faith of the Gospell, and the vnion which they haue all promised by Iesus Christ. And therefore as all the members are nourished with one and the same viands, and all the faithfull take one and the same Spirituall Bread, of the word of Life, the Gospell of Salvation; So they all liue by one and the same Spirit, and one and the same Faith.

This Sacrament of the Communion of the Body and Bloud of Christ, is called in Greeke, *Eucharistia*, that is to say, *Good Grace*; of this doth S. Matthe. testifie in his 26. Chap. saying, *Iesus tooke bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gaue it to his disciples, and said, Take, eate, this is my body.* And S. Luke Chap. 22. *This is my body which is giuen for you, this doe in remembrance of me.* Likewise hee tooke the Cup, and blessed it saying, *This cup is the new Testament in my bloud, which is shed for you.*

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This Sacrament was instituted by diuine ordinance, perfectly to signifie vnto vs, the spirituall nourishment of man in God, by meanes whereof the spirituall life is preserued, and without which it decayeth, the truth it selfe saying; *If you eate not the flesh of the Sonne of man, and drinke not his bloud, there shall be no life in you.* Concerning which Sacrament, wee must hold that which followeth, by the testimony of the Scriptures. That is, that wee must confesse simply and in purity of heart, that the bread which Christ tooke in his last Supper, which he blessed, brake, and gaue to eate to his Disciples, that in the taking thereof, by the ministry of his faithfull Pastors, he hath left a remembrance of his Passion, which in it owne nature is true bred, and that by this Pronowne, *This*, is demonstrated this sacramentall proposition. *This is my Body*, not vnderstanding these words Identically, of a numerall Identity, but Sacramentally, really, and truly, but not measurably. The same body of Christ, sitting in heaven at the right hand of his Father, vnto whom euery faithfull Receiver must cast vp the eyes of his vnderstanding, hauing his heart eleuated on high, and so eate him spiritually, and sacramentally by an assured faith. The same we are to vnderstand of the Sacrament of the Cup.

Saint *Augustine* saith, that the eating and drinking of this Sacrament, must be vnderstood spiritually. For Christ saith, *The words that I speake, are spirit and life.* And Saint *Ierome* saith, *The flesh of Christ is to be vnderstood after a twofold manner, either spiritually; of which Christ saith, Iohn 6. 55. My flesh is meate indeed, and my bloud is drinke indeed: Or it is to be vnderstood of that flesh, which was crucified and buried. Of the spirituall eating Christ saith; He that shall eate my flesh, and drinke*

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my blood, is in me, and I in him. There is also a twofold manner of eating, the one sacramentall; and so both good and bad doe eate; the other spirituall, and so the good onely doe eate. And therefore saith *Augustine*, *What is it to eate Christ?* It is not onely to receiue his body in the Sacrament, for many doe eate him vnworthily, who will not dwell in him, nor haue him to dwell in them; but he eates him spirituallly that continueth in the truth of Christ. And therefore to eate the sacramentall Bread, is to eate the Body of Christ in a figure. Iesus Christ himselfe saying, *Neuerthelesse, as oft as you doe this, you shall doe it in remembrance of me.* For if this eating were not in figure, Christ should be alwayes bound to such a thing, for it is necessary that the spirituall eating should be continuall: As *Saint Augustine* speaketh; *He that eateth Christ in truth, is he that beleaueth in him.* For Christ saith, *that to eate him, is to dwell in him*: In the celebration of this Sacrament, Prayer is profitable, and the preaching of the Word in the vulgar tongue, such as may edifie, and is agreeable to the Euangelicall Law, to the end, that peace and charity might encrease amongst the people; but other things that are in vse in these dayes in the Church of *Rome*, and those that are members thereof, belong not at all to the Sacrament.

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What the *Waldenses* and *Albingenses* haue taught touching Marriage.

CHAP. VII.



Marriage is holy, being instituted of God in the beginning of the World. And therefore it is an honourable thing, when it is kept as it ought in all purity, and when the Husband, who is the head of Wife, loues her, and keepes her, and carrieth himselfe honestly towards her, being faithful and loyall towards her: and that the woman for her part, who is made to be a helpe vnto man, be subiect to her Husband, obeying him in whatsoeuer is good, and honouring him as God hath commanded her, taking care of his Household affaires, keeping her selfe not onely from ill-doing, but all appearance of euill, continuing faithfull and loyall vnto him, and both of them persevering in that which is good, according to the will of God, taking paines together to get their liuing by honest and lawfull meanes, wronging no man, and instructing those children which God hath giuen them; in the feare and doctrine of the Lord, and to liue as our Lord hath commanded them.

Prayer and fasting is profitable, when there is question of the celebration of Matrimony, and the reasons, and instructions, and aduertisements touching the same. But the Imposition of hands, and the Ligatures made with the Priests steele, and other things commonly obserued therein, and by custome, without the expresse word,

In the Booke intituled, The Spirituall Almanacke, fol. 50.

word, they are not of the substance, nor necessarily required in marriage.

As touching the degrees prohibited, and other things that are to be obserued in matter of Matrimony, wee shall speake, when we come to the discipline.

Taken out of
the Booke in-
tituled, The
Spirituall Al-
manacke.

What the *Waldenses* and *Albingerfes*
haue taught, touching the visitation
of the Sicke.

CHAP. VIII.

*El besongna que aquel que porta la parola de Dio lo
estre Señor en toia diligencia.*



It is necessary that hee that is the Messenger of the Word of God, should inuite, and draw euery one to our Lord and Sauour, with all labour and diligence, both by the good example of his life, and the truth of his Doctrine; and it is not sufficient that hee teach in the Congregation, but also in their Houses, and in all other places, as Christ and his Apostles haue done before him, comforting the afflicted, and especially those that are sicke. He must admonish them touching the great bounty and mercy of God, shewing that there can proceed nothing but what is good, from him that is the Fountaine of all goodnesse, and that he that is Almighty, is our mercifull Father,
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more carefull of vs, then euer Father or Mother hath beene of their Children; telling them, that though a Mother may forget her Childe, and the Nurse him to whom shee hath giuen sucke, and which shee hath borne in her wombe, yet notwithstanding our heauenly Father will not forget vs, doing all things for our benefit, and sending all things for our greater good, and if it were more expedient for vs to enioy our health, wee should haue it. And therefore wee are to submit our wils to his will, and our lines to his conduct and direction, and assuredly belecue that he loueth vs, and out of his loue, he chastiseth vs. Neither must wee respect the grieve or pouerty we endure, nor thinke that God hateth vs, and casteth vs off; but rather we must thinke, that we are the more in his grace and fauour, nothing regarding those that flourish in this World, and haue here their consolation, but looking vpon Christ Iesus, more beloued of his Father then any other, who is the true Sonne of God, and yet hath beene more afflicted then we all, and more tormented then any other. For not onely that bitter passion that he suffered, was very hard and grievous vnto him, but much more in regard that in the midst of his torments, euery one cryed out against him, like angry dogs, belching out against him many villanous speeches, doing against him the worst they could, in such sort, that hee was constrained to cry out in his torments, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* And finding the hour of his passion to draw neere, he grew heauy vnto the death, and prayed vnto his Father, that that Cup might passe from him, insomuch that he did sweat water and blood, because of that great heauinesse and anguish of heart which he should endure in this cruell death.

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And therefore the sicke man must consider with himselfe, that he is not so ill handled, nor so grievously tormented, as his Sauour was, when he suffered for vs, for which he is to yeeld thanks vnto God, that it hath pleased him to deliuer vs, and to giue this good Sauour vnto the death for vs, begging mercy and fauour at his hands in the name of Iesus. And it is necessary that we haue with all this perfect confidence and assurance, that our Father will forgive vs for his goodnesse sake. For hee is full of mercy, slow to anger, and ready to forgive.

And therefore the sicke party must recommend, and commit himselfe wholly vnto the mercy of his Lord, to doe with him as shall seeme good in his eyes, and to dispose both of his body and soule, according to his good will and pleasure. Also it shall be necessary to admonish the sicke person, to doe vnto his Neighbour, as hee would haue his Neighbour doe vnto him, not wronging any man, and to take such order with all that are his, that hee may leaue them in peace, that there may not be any suites, or contentions amongst them after his death.

He must also bee exhorted to hope for saluation in Iesus Christ, and not in any other, or by any other thing, acknowledging himselfe a miserable sinner, to the end hee may aske pardon of God, finding himselfe to be in such a manner culpable, that he deserueth of himselfe eternall death. And if the sicke party shall be stricken with a feare of the iudgement of God, and his anger against sinne and sinners; he must put him in minde of those comfortable promises, which our Sauour hath made vnto all those that come vnto him, and from the bottome of their heart call vpon him, and
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Chap. 8. Waldenses & Albingenses. 51

how God the Father hath promised pardon, when soeuer wee shall aske it in the name of his Sonne, and our Sauour Christ Iesus. These are the things wherein the true Preacher of the Word ought faithfully to employ himselfe, to conduct the party visited to his Sauiour.

And when he is departed this life, he must giue heart and courage to the suruiuers, by godly exhortations, to the end they may be comforted to praise God, and to conforme themselves to his holy will; and whereas in former times it hath bene the manner to cause the poore and desolate widow to spend much siluer, hauing lost her Husband, vpon fingers, and ringers, and eaters, and drinkers, whilest shee sits weeping and fasting, wronging hereby her fatherlesse Children; to the end that losse be not added to losse, it is our duty, taking pittie on them, to aide them with our counsell and with our goods, according to that ability that God hath bestowed on vs, taking care that the Children be well instructed, to the end, that liuing like Christians, according to the will of God, they may labour to get their liuing, as God hath ordained and commanded.

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CHAP.

C H A P. IX.

The Conclusion of this Booke.



Y that which is contained in this Booke, and what hath beene faithfully gathered out of the Bookes the *Waldenses* haue left vnto vs, it appeareth that the Doctrine which they maintaine in these dayes, that make profession of reformation, hath beene maintained by them, many ages before they that are enemies thereunto, would take notice of it, there being nothing in all that is deliuered, that doth either repugne the Word of God, or is not altogether conformable to that which is taught in the reformed Churches. For the *Waldenses* and *Albigenes* haue knowne the necessity of instructing their children, by making vse of such familiar Catechismes as haue beene practised in the Primatiue Church. They haue confessed their sinnes to one onely God, with termes of true humility, proofes of great zeale, and a holy confidence in the mercy of God, by his Sonne and our Sauour Christ Iesus. They haue acknowledged the Law of God, for the onely rule of their obedience, and confessing themselves to bee farre distant from that perfection which ought to bee in vs, to appeare vnblameable before the face of God; from their imperfection they haue taken occasion to haue recourse to the only righteousnesse of the Sonne of God, our Redeemer, the Law being as a Looking-glasse, to make them know their staines and blemishes, and to send them to Christ Iesus the true lauor or washing poole.

poole. They haue called vpon God in their necessities, by, and through, one onely Iesus Christ our Sauour. They haue receiued the Sacraments, with faith and repentance, and without alteration. They haue entred the state of Matrimony, as ordained by God, holy and honourable; and finally, they haue not beene ignorant, with what charity they were to comfort, and to visite, and to exhort their sicke, and such as are in any aduersity. And what hath there beene in all these, that for these they should be condemned to death as Hereticks; especially seeing that with the goodnesse and puritie of their Doctrine, they haue liued religiously, vnder a holy Discipline, which the Booke following will make good vnto vs.

Luke 21. 23.

Heaven and earth shall passe away, but my words shall not passe away.

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THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE THIRD PART OF THE HISTORY

of the *Waldenses* and *Albingses*; con-
taining the Discipline vnder
which they lived.

CHAPTER I.

De la Disciplina.

*La Disciplina contien en si tota doctrina Moral segond
l'enseignement de Christ, &c.*

Of Discipline.

Discipline containeth in it all Morall Do-
ctrine, according to the Institution of
Christ and his Apostles, shewing after
what manner every one ought to live in
his vocation by faith, and to walke wor-
thily in true holinesse and righteousness.
There are many instructions in the Booke of God,
touching this Discipline, shewing not only, how every
man

man ought to liue in his owne particular estate, of what age or condition soeuer he be; but also what must bee that vnion, consent, and band of loue, in the communication of the faithfull. And therefore if any man desire the knowledge of these things, let him reade what the Apostle hath said in his Epistles, and he shall finde at large, and especially in what manner euery one is bound to keepe himselfe in vnity, and to walke in such sort, that hee be not a scandall and an occasion of falling to his neighbour, by wicked words or actions; and in what manner he is bound, not only to flye what is euill, but also the occasions of euill: and whensoever any man hath failed therein, how he may be reformed and come to amendment of life.

By many such generall instructions, the reclaimed people newly brought vnto the Faith, must be taught, to the end they may walke worthily in the house of the Lord, & that they make not his house a den of theeues, by their wicked conuersation, and toleration of euill.

CHAP. II.

De li Pastor.

Tuit aquilli liquol denon esser receopu Pastor dentre de nos,
Or.

Of Pastors.

ALL they that are to bee receiued as Pastors amongst vs, whilst they are yet with their owne people, they are to intreate ours, that they would bee pleased to receiue them to the Ministry, and to pray vnto God, that they may bee made worthy of so great an office: but yet know that

that these Petitioners make this request, to shew their humility.

We set them their taske, causing them to learne by heart, all the Chapters of Saint *Mathew*, and Saint *Iohn*, and all the Epistles that are Canonically; a good part of the writings of *Salomon*, *David*, and the Prophets.

Afterwards having gotten some good testimony of their sufficiency, they are receiued with imposition of hands into the Office of Teachers.

He that is admitted in the last place, shall not doe any thing without the leaue and allowance of him that was admitted before him: As also hee that is first, shall doe nothing without the leaue of his companion, to the end, that all things with vs might be done in order.

Diet and apparell is giuen vnto vs freely, and by way of almes, and that with good sufficiency, by those good people whom we teach.

Amongst other powers and abilities which God hath giuen to his seruants, hee hath giuen authority to chuse Leaders to rule the people, and to ordaine Elders in their charges, according to the diuersity of the worke, in the vnity of Christ; which is proued by the saying of the Apostle, in the first Chapter of the Epistle to *Timus*: *For this cause haue I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordaine Elders in euery City, as I haue appointed thee.* Whensoever any of our said Pastors committeth any foule sinne, hee is thrust out of our company, and forbid to preach.

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CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Del' Enseignement de li filli.

Li filli liqual naiffon a li paiours carnals denon effer rendu, &c.

Of the Instruction of Children.



Children borne of their carnall Parents, must bee made spirituall vnto God, by discipline and by instruction, as it is said in the 30 of Ecclesiast. 1. *He that loueth his sonne, causeth him off to feele the rod, that he may haue ioy of him in the end, and that hee knocke not at the doore of his Neighbour.* He that chastiseth his sonne, shall haue ioy in him, and shall reioyce of him among his acquaintance. He that teacheth his sonne, griueth his enemy, and before his enemies hee shall reioyce of him. Though his Father dye, yet he is as if he were not dead, for hee hath left one behind him that is like vnto himselfe: whilest he liued, he saw, and reioyced in him, and when he dyed, he was not sorrowfull. For he left behind him an auenger against his enemies, and one that shall require kindnesse to his friends. Despaire not of thy childe when he is vnwilling to receiue correction, or if he proue not speedily good; for the Labourer gathereth not the fruits of the Earth so soone as it is sown, but he attends a fitting time.

A man must also haue a carefull eye ouer his Daughters. Hast thou Daughters? Keepe them within, and see they wander not. For *Dina* the Daughter of *Jacob*, was corrupted by being seene of strangers.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

De li Preyre, de la Collectas, & de li Concili.

Regidors son eslegi del poble et Preyre, &c.

Of the Elders, of the distribution of Almes, and Ecclesiasticall Synodall Assemblies.



We choose amongst the people those that are to gouerne, and of the Elders, according to the diuersity of their employment, in the vnity of Christ. According to that of the Apostle, in the first of the Epistle to *Titus*, *I haue left thee in Creete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordaine Elders in euery City, as I haue appointed thee.* The siluer that is given for the reliefe of the people, is by vs carried to the aforesaid Councell, and is there deliuered for the common vse in the prelence of all, and afterwards taken by those that are in authority, and part of that siluer is giuen to those that are to trauell any long iourneyes, to employ as they shall thinke fittest, and part vnto the poore.

Our Pastors doe call Assemblies once euery yeere, to determine of all affaires in a generall Councell.

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CHAP.

CHAP. V.

De la Correction Ecclesiastica.

*Semeillament deuon esser faitz, corrections per endutzi-
on, de temors, &c.*

Of Ecclesiasticall Correction.

SO likewise corrections are to be vsed, to hold men in feare, to the end that they that are not faithfull, may be punished, and separated, either for their wicked life, or erroneous beliefe, or their want of Charity, or any of these euils that are found together in any one. Now, that it is necessary to vse such corrections, our Sauour telleth vs, saying; *If thy brother trespasse against thee, rebuke him betwixt thee and himselfe, and if he repent, forgine him, Luke 17.* The Apostle confirmeth the same, saying to the Galathians; *If a man be taken in any sinne, you that are spirituall, instruct him in the spirit of meekenesse.*

But forasmuch as all receiue not these corrections in charity, our Lord teacheth our spirituall guides, what course they should take, saying; *If hee hearken not vnto thee, take with thee one or two, for in the mouth of two or three, shall euery one be iustified.* Our Lords meaning is, if the fault be not published and knowne by diuers; but not so if the sinne be manifest and made knowne to euery man: In such a case, the chastisement must be made manifest too. The Apostle telleth vs as much, in the first of Timothy, 5. 20. *Them that sinne, rebuke before all, that others also may feare.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

De l' Excommunication.

*Ma car tuit en aial reprennament non volon avec assaïres-
mendament ni abandonnar lo mal, &c.*

Of Excommunication.



DVt when such will not amend their liues by any of these admonitions, nor leaue their wicked wayes, Christ teacheth vs what wee are to doe against such: If they will not hearken therevnto, tell the Church; that is to say, the Guides, whereby the Church is ruled and preserved, that he may be punished, especially for contumacy. This the Apostle confirmeth, 1 Cor. 5. 3. *I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, haue iudged already, as though I were present in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Iesus Christ.* As also in the 11. verse, *If any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or couetous, or an idolator, or a rayler, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, I say, eate not with any that is such a one, but put away that wicked person from amongst you.* And againe, *If there be any one that will not obey our word, signifie that man by an Epistle, and haue no company with him, that he may be ashamed; yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother, and as our Sauour saith; let him be vnto thee as a Pagan, or a Publican; that is to say, let him be deprived of all aide of the Church, and of the Ministry, and the company of the Church, and of union.*

Hhhh 3

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Del Mariage.

*Le Mariage se deo far second la gra liqual Dio a permes,
&c.*

Of Mariage.



Mariages are to be made according to the degrees permitted of God, but not according to those he hath forbidden: but wee are to make no scruple of conscience of those of the Pope, though a man haue paid him no siluer for a dispensation. For that which God hath not forbidden, may bee done without the Pope. The band of holy Matrimony must not be made without the consent of the Parents of both parties, for Children belong to their Parents.

CHAP. VIII.

De la Tauerna.

La Tauerna es fontana de pecca, Eschola del Diaul, &c.

Of the excesse and disorders which are commonly committed in Tauernes.



A Tauerne is the Fountaine of sinne, the Schoole of the Diuell, it workes wonders, fitting the place. It is the custome of God to shew his power in his Church, and to worke miracles; that is to say, to giue sight to the blinde, to make the lame to goe, the dumbe

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dumbe to speake, the deafe to heare, but the deuill doth quite contrary to all these in a Tauerne. For when the Drunkard goeth to the Tauerne, hee goeth vpright, but when hee commeth forth hee cannot goe at all, and hee hath lost his sight, his hearing, his speech. The Lectures that are read in this Schoole of the deuill, are Gluttonies, Oathes, Perjuries, Lyings, Blasphemies, and diuers other villanies. For in a Tauerne are quarrells, slanders, contentions, murthers, and Tauerners that suffer them, are partakers of their sinnes, and that wickednesse they commit. For hee that would speake as much euill of their Parents, as they suffer men to speake of God, and the glorious *Virgin*, and the Saints in Paradise, and all for a little gaine by the saile of their wine, they would neuer endure it so peaceably. And therefore it is said in *Ecclesiasticks*, that the Tauerner shall not be freed from sinne.

CHAP. IX.

Del Bal.

Lo Bal es la procession del Diaul, & qui intra en la Bal, &c.

Against Dancing.



Dance is the Diuels procession, and he that entreth into a Dance, entreth into his possession. The deuill is the guide, the middle, and the end of the Dance. As many paces as a man maketh in dancing, so many paces doth he make.

make to goe to hell. A man sinneth in dancing diuers wayes; as in his pace, for all his steps are numbred; in his touch, in his ornaments, in his hearing, sight, speech, and other vanities. And therefore wee will prooue, first by the Scripture, and afterwards by diuers other reasons, how wicked a thing it is to dance. The first testimony that we will produce, is that which wee reade in the Gospell, *Marke 6*. It pleased *Herod* so well, that it cost *Iohn the Baptist* his life. The second is in *Exodus 32*. When *Moses* comming neere to the congregation, saw the Calfe, hee cast the Tables from him, and brake them at the foote of the mountaine, and afterwards it cost three and twenty thousand their liues. Besides the ornaments which women weare in their dances, are as crownes for many victories which the deuill hath gotten against the children of God. For the deuill hath not onely one sword in the dance, but as many as there are beautifull and well adorned persons in the dance. For the words of a woman are a glittering sword. And therefore that place is much to be feared, wherein the enemy hath so many swords, since that one onely sword of his may bee feared. Again, the deuill in this place, strikes with a sharpened sword, for the women come not willingly to the dance, if they be not painted, and adorned, the which painting and ornament, is as a grindstone, vpon which the deuill sharpeneth his sword. They that decke and adorne their daughters, are like those that put dry wood to the fire, to the end it may burne the better: For such women kindle the fire of luxury in the hearts of men; as *Sampsons* Foxes fired the Philistims corne, so these women, they haue fire in their faces, and in their gestures and actions, their glances and wanton words, by which they

they consume the goods of men. Again, the deuill in the dance vseth the strongest armour that hee hath, for his most powerfull armes are women, which is made plaine vnto vs, in that the deuill made choise of the woman to deceiue the first man; So did *Balaam*, that the children of Israel might be reiected. By a woman hee made *Sampson*, *Dauid*, and *Abolon* to sinne. The deuill tempteth men by women, three manner of wayes, that is to say, by the touch, by the eye, by the eare: By these three meanes he tempteth foolish men to dancings, by touching their hands, beholding their beauty, hearing their songs and musicke. Again, they that dance, breake that promise and agreement which they haue made with God in Baptisme, when their Godfathers promise for them, that they shall renounce the deuill, and all his pompe; For dancing is the pompe of the deuill, and hee that danceth maintaineth his pompe, and singeth his Masse. For the woman that singeth in the dance, is the Prioresse of the deuill, and those that answere are the Clerkes, and the beholders are the Parishioners, and the musicke are the Belles, and the Fidlers the ministers of the Deuill. For as when Hogges are strayed, if the Hogheard call one, all assemble themselues together; So the deuill causeth one woman to sing in the dance, or to play on some Instrument, and presently all the dancers gather together. Again, in a dance a man breakes the ten Commandements of God. As first, *Thou shalt haue no other Gods but me, &c.* For in dancing a man serues that person, whom hee most desires to serue, and therefore saith *Sant Ierom*, Euery mans God is that hee serues and loues best. He sinneth against the second Commandement, when hee makes an Idol of that hee loues.

Against the third, in that oathes are frequent amongst dancers. Against the fourth, for by dancing the Sabbath day is profaned. Against the fifth, for in the dance, the parents are many times dishonoured, when many bargaines are made without their counsell. Against the sixth, A man kills in dancing, for every one that standeth to please another, he kills the soule as oft as hee perswadeth vnto lust. Against the seventh; For the partie that danceth, bee it male or female, committeth adultery, with the partie they lust after. *For hee that looketh on a woman and lusteth after her, hath already committed adultery in his heart.* Against the eighth Commandement a man sinnes in dancing, when hee withdraweth the heart of another from God. Against the ninth, when in dancing hee speakes falsely against the truth. Against the tenth, when women affect the ornaments of others, and men couet the wiues, daughters, and seruants of their neighbours.

Againe, a man may prooue how great an euill dancing is, by the multitude of sinnes that accompany those that dance; for they dance without measure or number: And therefore saith Saint *Augustine*, The miserable dancer knowes not, that as many paces as he makes in dancing, so many leapes hee makes to hell. They sinne in their ornaments after a five-fold manner. First, by being proud thereof. Secondly, by inflaming the hearts of those that behold them. Thirdly, when they make those ashamed that haue not the like ornaments, giuing them occasion to couet the like. Fourthly, by making women importunate, in demanding the like ornaments of their husbands. And fifthly, when they cannot obtaine them of their husbands, they seeke to get them elsewhere by sinne. They sinne by singing,

singing, and playing on Instruments; for their songs bewitch the hearts of those that heare them with temporall delight, forgetting God, vttering nothing in their songs, but lyes and vanities. And the very motion of the body which is vsed in dancing, giues testimony enough of euill.

Thus you see, that dancing is the deuils procession, and he that entred into a dance, enters into the deuils possession. Of dancing, the deuill is the guide, the middle, and the end; and hee that entred a good and a wise man into the dance, commeth forth a corrupt and a wicked man. *Sarah* that holy woman, was none of these.

CHAP. X.

En qual modo lo poble se deo auer a
aquilli que son de fora.

Non amar lo mond.

After what manner a man must conuerse with
those that are without.



Not to loue the world. To flye euill company. If it bee possible to haue peace with all. Not to contend in iudgement. Not to reuenge. To loue our enemies. To be willing to suffer labours, slanders, threats, contempts, iniuries, all manner of torments for the truth. To possesse our weapons in peace. Not to be coupled in one yoke with Infidels. Not to com-

municate with the wicked in their euill wayes, and especially with those that smell of Idolatry, referring all seruice thereunto, and so of other things.

Encar en qual manera li fidel debian
regir li lor corps.

Non seruir a li desirier mortal, &c.

Againe, in what manner the faithfull ought
to rule their bodies.

Not to serue the mortall desires of the
flesh. To keepe their members that
they be not armes of iniquitie. To rule
their outward senses. To subiect the
body to the soule. To mortifie their
members. To fye idlenesse. To obserue a sobriety and
measure in their eating and drinking, in their words
and the cares of this life. To doe the workes of mer-
cie. To liue a morall life by faith. To fight against the
desires. To mortifie the workes of the flesh. To give
themselves in due times to the exercise of Religion.
To conferre together touching the will of God.
To examine diligently the conscience.
To purge and amend and
pacifie the spirit.

FINIS.



THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE THIRD PART OF THE HISTORY

of the *Waldenses* and *Albingenses*; Con-
taining a refutation of sundry Do-
ctrines of the Church of *Rome*.

*As the smoake goes before the fire, the battell before the
victory, so the temptation of Antichrist before glory.*

CHAPTER I.

A Treatise of the *Waldenses* and *Albingenses*, of An-
tichrist.



Antichrist is the falshood or vn-
truth of eternall damnation, co-
uered with an outward appea-
rance of the truth, and the righte-
ousnesse of Christ and his Spouse,
opposite to the way of truth,
righteousnesse, faith, hope, and
charity, and to the morall life, and ministeriall verity of

This Booke of
Antichrist is in
an olde manu-
script, wherein
there are many
Sermons of the
Pastors, dated
the year 1120,
and therefore
written before
Waldo, and a-
bout the time
of Peter Bruis,
who taught in
Languedoc,
where hee was
burnt at Saint
Giles, before
Waldo departed
from Lion. And
this Treatise
was afterward
preserved by
the *Waldenses*
of the Alpes,
from whom we
had it, with di-
uers others.

the Church, administred by false Apostles, and obstinately defended, by both powers Ecclesiasticall and secular: Or Antichrist is a delusion, which hides the truth of saluation from things substantiall: or it is a fraudulent contradiction against Christ and his Spouse, and euery faithfull member. It is not any speciall person ordained, in any degree, or office, or ministry, but it is that falsehood it selfe, which opposeth it selfe against the trueth, which couereth and adorneth it selfe with beauty and pietie, out of the Church of Christ, as with names and offices, and Scriptures, and Sacraments, and diuers other things. That iniquity that is after this manner, with all the Ministers thereof, great and small, with all those that follow them with a wicked heart, and hood-winked eyes; this congregation, I say, thus taken altogether, is called Antichrist, or Babylon, or the fourth Beast, or the Whore, or the man of sinne, or the sonne of perdition.

The Ministers are called, false prophets, lying teachers, the Ministers of darkenesse, the spirit of error, the Apocalipticall whore, the mother of Fornication, cloudes without water, trees without leaues, dead and twice rooted vp, waues of a troublesome sea, wandring starres, Ba'aamites, and Egyptians.

It is called Antichrist, because being couered and adorned vnder the colour of Christ, and of his Church, and the faithfull members thereof, it opugneth the saluation purchased by Christ, and true'ly administred in the Church of Christ, whereof the faithfull are partakers, by Faith, Hope, and Charity. Thus it contradicteth the truth, by the wisdom of the world, by false religion, by counterfeited holinesse, by spirituall power, secular tyrannie, riches, honours,

honours, dignities, and the delights and delicacies of the world.

Forasmuch therefore as it is manifest to euery one, that Antichrist cannot come in any forme or fashion whatsoever, but so as that all these things, aboue mentioned must bee ioyned together to make a perfect hypocrisie and falsehood, that is to say, with the wise of the world, the Religious, Pharises, Ministers, Doctors, with the secular power, with the people of the world ioyned all together, who then altogether make the man of sinne and error fully compleate. For notwithstanding Antichrist were long since conceiued, in the Apostles times, yet it was then in the infancie, and it wanted members both inward and outward. And therefore it was the more easily knowne and destroyed, and kept vnder, and being but rude and rustically, as yet was dumbe. For it had not the wisdom, nor the reason to excuse it selfe, to define and pronounce sentence. It had not as yet Ministers without truth, it wanted humane Lawes and Statutes, and outwardly it had no religious followers: And therefore though it were fallen into error and sinne, yet it had nothing wherewith to couer its villany, and the shame of error and sinne, for hauing neither riches, nor doctations, it could not winne Ministers for seruice, nor multiply and preserue, and defend its owne; for it was destitute of secular power and helpe, and could not inforce or constrain any from the trueth to falsehood. And forasmuch as many things were wanting, it could not pollute nor scandalize any with its trumperies, and therefore being as yet tender and feeble, could obtaine no place in the Church. But afterwards growing in its members, that is to say, in its blinde Ministers, and hypocrites,

hypocrites, and the vassals of the World, it is growen to a perfect man, in the fulnesse of age, that is to say, when the spirituall and secular louers of the World, blinde in faith, were multiplied in the Church with all power. These being wicked and willing to be entreated and honoured touching things spirituall, they haue couered their maiesty, malice, and sinnes, by making vse of the wise men of the World, and the Pharises, to this purpose, as it is said before. Now this is a great wickednesse, to couer and to adorne that iniquity, worthy excommunication, and to establish it by such a meanes as cannot by man bee giuen to man, but belongs onely vnto God, and to Iesus Christ, as he is Mediator. Most deceitfully and by rapine to take these things from God, and to transferre them to it selfe and it workes, seemes to be a great robbery, as when it attributeth to it selfe the power to regenerate, to forgiue sinnes, to distribute the graces of the holy Spirit, to make Christ, and other the like things. And in all these, to couer it selfe with the cloake of authority, and of the Word, deceiuing by this meanes the rude people, who follow the World, separating themselves from God, and the true Faith, and the reformation of the holy Spirit, from true repentance, and the powerfull operation of perseuerance in good, forsaking charity, patience, humility, and that which is worst of all, departing from the true hope, and putting their trust in the vaine confidence of the World, making themselves seruants to ceremonies, which make for these things, fraudulently causing the people to fall downe and to worship the Idols of the World, vnder the name of Saints and reliques, in such sort, that men wandring wickedly from the way of truth, thinke they serue God, and doe well, and

and so they are moued to hatred and malice against those that loue the truth, commit diuers murders of soules, as the Apostle speakes truly. This is that compleat man of sinne, which exalteth himselfe aboue all that is called God, and that oppugneth all truth, who sits in the Temple of God, that is, in the Church, shewing himselfe as if hee were God, who is come with all falshood and lying for those that perish. And forasmuch as he is truly come, we neede no longer expect him, for hee is already olde by the permission of God, yea, he is already in the wayne, and his power and authority much diminished: for the Lord hath long since slaine this man of sinne, with the breath of his mouth, by sundry good and godly persons, giuing them a power contrary to his, and those that loue him, and hath brought vnto naught his place, and his possessions, and diuided this City of *Babylon*, in which all manner of wickednesse is in his full strength and vigour.

What the workes of Antichrist are.



He first worke of Antichrist, is to take away the truth, and to change it into falshood and error, and heresie. The second, to couer falshood with the truth, and to confirme an vntruth, by seeming faith, and by vertue, and to mingle falshood with things spirituall, amongst those people that are subiect vnto him, whether it bee by meanes of his Ministers or the Ministerie. Now this two-fold manner of proceeding containeth a perfect and most accomplished malice, which could not bee in any tyrant

K k k

or

or powerfull Potentate from the beginning of the world vntill the time of Antichrist. Neither hath Christ had any enemy before this which could so change the way of truth into falsehood; or that had power to peruert those that make profession either of the one or the other; that is to say, of truth or falsehood. In such sort that our holy Mother the Church with her true children, is trodden vnder-foot, especially for the true seruice of God and the Ministry thereof, inso much that shee and her members breake out into those mournfull complaints of the Prophet *Jeremy*; *How doeth the Citie sit solitary that was full of people? How is shee become a widow, that is, destitute of the truth of her spouse?* Shee that was great among the nations, because of that power shee had ouer sinne and error; and the Princeesse among the Prouinces, by that part shee had in the world, and the things in the world. Mourne, and behold with a carefull eye, and thou shalt finde all these things accomplished even in these times. For the holy Church is reputed a Synagogue, and the Synagogue of the wicked, is acknowledged to bee the mother of those that beleue in God and obey his Lawes. Falsehood is Preached for truth, wrong for right; Iniustice is held for Iustice, error for faith, sinne for vertue, vanity for verity.

Obiect. But what other workes proceed from these first?

Answer. These that follow.

The first worke is, that hee turneth that seruice and worship which is onely proper and due vnto God, to himselfe and his workes, and to the poore creature, reasonable and vnreasonable, sensible and insensible. Reasonable, as to men, hee-Saints and shee-Saints, that are departed

departed out of this world: Vnreasonable, and to Images, carrion or reliques. His workes are the Sacraments, especially the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which he adoreth as God, and as Iesus Christ, seruing things blessed, and consecrated, and forbidding the worship of the onely God.

The second worke of Antichrist is, that he robbeth Christ of his merit, with all the sufficiency of grace, righteousness, regeneration, remission of sinnes, sanctification, confirmation in grace and spirituall nourishment; and imputeth and attributeth it to his authority, and to the forme of words, and to his workes, and to Saints, and to their intercession, and to the fire of Purgatory, drawing the people from Christ and his conduct vnto the things aboue-named, to the end men should not seeke the things of Christ, nor by Christ, but trust onely to be saued by the works of their hands, and not by a liuely faith in God, and his Sonne Christ Iesus, and his holy Spirit, but by the will and workes of Antichrist, for so he teacheth that all saluation consisteth in his workes.

The third worke of Antichrist consisteth in this, that he attributeth the renewing by the holy Ghost to an outward dead faith, and baptizeth children into that faith, and that by it wee haue the Baptisme and the regeneration, and therein hee giueth Orders and Sacraments, and in it he groundeth all Christianity, which is repugnant to the Spirit of God.

The fourth worke of Antichrist is, that hee hath ordained and placed all Religion and Sanctity of the people in the Masse, and hath patched together many ceremonies, whereof some are Iudaicall, some Heathenish, some Antichristian. To the hearing whereof,

leading the congregation and the people, hee deprives them of their spirituall and Sacramentall food, and separateth them from the true Religion, and the Commandements of God, and withdrawes them from the workes of mercy by his Offertory, and by his Masse he setteth the people in a vaine hope.

The fift worke of Antichrist is, that hee doeth all his workes, to the end hee may bee seene of men, that he may solace himselfe in his insatiable avarice, that he may make gaine of all things, and doe nothing without Simony.

The sixt worke of Antichrist is, that hee giueth way to all open and apparant sinnes, without any Ecclesiasticall sentence, neither doth hee excommunicate the impenitent.

The seuenth worke of Antichrist is, that hee neither ruleth nor defendeth his vnity by the Word and power of the Spirit of God, but by the secular power, and hee addeth vnto his ayde things spirituall.

The eight worke of Antichrist is, that hee hateth and persecuteth, and putteth to death the members of Christ. These are in a manner the principall workes which he doth against the truth, for all of them can by no meanes bee written, or numbred. Let it suffice for this present that wee haue noted the more generall, and shall likewise set downe by what workes this iniquity is couered.

First and principally by an outward confession of Faith; whereof the Apostle sayth, *They confesse they know God with their mouthes, but they deny him in their hearts.*

Secondly, hee couereth his iniquity by length of time, and in that he is maintained by certaine Sages, and

and religious Monkes, and Virgins, and Nunnes, and Widowes, and other women of austere life. As also by the people without number, of whom it is said in the *Reuelation*: *And power was giuen vnto him ouer euery Tribe, and Language, and Nation, and all the Inhabitants of the Earth fell downe and worshipped him.*

Thirdly, hee couereth his iniquity with the spirituall authority of the Apostles, against which the Apostle saith; *We can doe nothing against the truth, and power there is none giuen vs to destruction.*

Fourthly, he couereth his iniquity with many miracles, of whom the Apostle saith, *2 Thes. 2. 9. Whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signes, and lying wonders, and with all deceiueblenesse of vnrightheousnesse.*

Fifely, by outward holinesse, prayers, fastings, watchings, and almesdeeds; against which the Apostle saith; *Hauiug the appearance of godlinesse, but denying the power thereof.*

Sixtly, he couereth his iniquity with certaine words of Christ, and the writings of ancient Fathers, and with Councels, which they doe so farre forth obserue, as that they may no way hinder their wicked liues and pleasures.

Seuenthly, by the administration of the Sacraments, viz. of Penance, by which they disgorge and vomit vp all their errours.

Eightly, by corrections, and verball preachings against vice; for they say, and doe not.

Ninthly, they couer their iniquity, by the vertuous life of some, that liue dissemblingly, others truly. For the Elect of God, who will and doe that which is good, are detained as in *Babylon*, and are as gold wherewith

Antichrist couereth his vanity, not permitting them to serue the onely God, or to put their trust in Christ alone, or to embrace the true Religion. These things and diuers others, are as the mantell or cloake of Antichrist, wherewith he couereth his lyes and malice, to the end he may not be reiected as a Pagan, and vnder which he proceedeth dishonestly, and like a whore.

We are now to shew, both out of the Old and New Testament, that a Christian is bound by the Commandement of God, to separate himselfe from Antichrist. For the Lord saith in the 52. of *Esay* 11. Depart ye, depart ye, goe ye out from thence, touch no vncleane thing, goe ye out of the middest of her; be ye cleane, that beare the vessels of the Lord: For ye shall not goe out with haste, nor goe by flight, &c. And the Prophet *Jeremy*, Chap. 50. 8. Remove out of the middest of Babylon, and goe forth out of the Land of the Caldeans, and be as the hee-goates before the flocks. For I, I will raise, and cause to come up against Babylon an assembly of great Nations, from the North Countrey, and they shall set themselves in array against her, from thence shee shall be taken. And *Numbers* 16. 21. Separate your selues from among this Congregation, that I may consume them in a moment: And againe in the 26 verse. Depart from the Tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in all their sinnes. And again, *Leuit.* 20. 24. I am the Lord your God, and haue separated you from other people: Yee shall therefore put difference betweene cleane beasts, and vncleane, and you shall not make your soules abominable, by beast, or by fowle, nor by any manner of liuing thing that creepeth on the ground, which I haue separated from you as vncleane. Againe, in the 34. of *Exodus*: Take heed to thy selfe, lest thou make a Covenent with the inhabitants of the land, for feare lest

when

when they goe a whoring after their Gods, and doe sacrifice vnto their gods, and one call thee, and thou eate of his sacrifice: And thou take of their daughters vnto thy sonnes, and their daughters goe a whoring after their gods, and make thy sonnes goe a whoring after their gods. This is likewise manifest in the New Testament, *John* 12. That the Lord came into the world, and suffered death, to the end he might ioine all the children of God in one. And for this truth of the vinity, and separation of others, it is said, *Matth.* 10. 34. Thinke not I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against the mother in law; And a mans foes shall be they of his owne household. And this diuision hee hath commanded, saying, If there be any that forsaketh not father and mother for my sake, &c. Againe, Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheepes clothing. Againe, Beware of the leuen of the Pharises. Againe, Take heed lest any seduce you, for many shall come in my Name and shall seduce many. And therefore if any one shall say vnto you, heere is Christ, and there is Christ, belecue him not. And *Reuel.* 8. 4. he admonisheth with his owne voyce, and commandeth all that are his to goe out of Babylon, saying, Come out of her my people, that you be not partakers of her sinnes, and that ye receiue not of her plagues: For her sins haue reached vnto heauen, and God hath remembered her iniquities. The Apostle affirmeth the same, *1. Cor.* 6. 14. Be ye not vnequally yoked together with vnbeleuers, for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousnesse, and what communion hath light with darkenesse; And what concord hath Christ with Belial, and what part hath he that beleueth with an Infidell? And what agreement hath

18:4

bath the Temple of God with Idols: And therefore goe out of her, and separate your selues from her, saith the Lord, and touch no vncleane thing, and I will bee vnto you in the place of a father, and you shall bee vnto mee as sonnes and daughters, saith the Lord. Again, Ephes. 5. 7. Be not yee therefore partakers with them; for yee were sometimes darkenesse, but now are yee light in the Lord. Again, 1. Cor. 10. 20. I would not that yee should haue fellowship with devils: yee cannot drinke the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils. And againe, 2. Thes. 3. 6. Wee command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ, that ye withdraw your selues from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he receiued of vs. For your selues know how ye ought to follow vs: And in the 14. verse. And if any man obey not our word by this Epistle, note that man, and haue no company with him, that he may be ashamed. And Ephes. 5. 11. Haue no fellowship with the vnfruitfull workes of darkenesse. And 2. Tim. 3. 1. This also know, that in the last dayes, perillous times shall come: And Verse 5. Having a forme of godlinesse, but denying the power thereof: from such turne away.

By these places abouerepeated, the malice of Antichrist doth manifestly appeare. So it is likewise commanded by the Lord, that we separate our selues from him, and to ioyne our selues to the holy City, Ierusalem. And therefore we that haue knowledge of these things, the Lord hauing reuealed them vnto vs by his seruants, beleeuing this reuelation deliuered in the Word, being admonished by the Commandements of the Lord to separate our selues from him, inwardly and outwardly, because we beleue him to bee Antichrist, and haue conuersation and vnity of will and sincere intencion, purposing to please God, that wee may be

be saued, by the ayde and assistance of our Lord wee ioyne our selues to the truth of Christ, and of his Spouse, how little soeuer it be in the eye of the world, so farre forth as our vnderstanding shall direct vs. And therefore we haue determined with our selues, to make knowne to the world, what are the causes of our departure, and what our congregation is, to the end that if the Lord shall giue the knowledge of the selfesame truth, they that haue receiued it should loue it, together with our selues: And that if peradventure they be not sufficiently illuminated, they may receiue comfort and assistance by this meanes, and be watered by the dew of heauen. And if this grace bee giuen more abundantly, and in a higher measure to any other, wee desire in all humility to bee better instructed by him, intreating our faults and defects may bee amended. These things then that follow are the causes of our separation.

Be it knowne to all in generall, and euery particular person, that the cause of our separation, is for the essentiall verity of Faith, and the ministeriall. The Essentiall verity of Faith, is the inward knowledge of one true God, and the vnity of Essence in three persons, which knowledge flesh and bloud hath not giuen. As also for the decent and conuenient seruice due to one onely God; for the loue thereof aboue all things; for sanctification and the honour thereof aboue all things, and aboue all names; for a liuely hope by Christ in God; for regeneration and inward renouation by faith, hope, and charity; for the merit of Iesus Christ, with all sufficiency of grace and righteousness; for the participation or communion with all the Elect; for remission of sinnes; for holy conuersation; and for the faithfull accomplishment.

*Separated
to keep all
Commandments*

*separated
to keep All
the Command-
ments.*

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complishment of all the Commandements in the faith of Christ; for true repentance; for perseverance vnto the end, and for life everlasting.

The Ministeriall verities are these: The outward Congregation of Ministers, with the people subiect in place, time, and truth, by the ministry of the truth aboue mentioned, directing, establishing, and preserving the Church; the said Ministers by faith, and an integrity of life, shewing themselves obedient, and giuing themselves courageously to the practise and visuall cariage of our Saviour ouer the flocke.

The things which the Ministers are bound to doe, for the service of the people, are these: The Euangelicall Word; the Sacraments annexed to the Word, which certifie what the intention and vnderstanding hath beene; confirme the hope in Christ, and in the faithfull the ministeriall communion of all things, by the Essentiall verity. And if there be any other ministeriall things, they may all bee referred to the abouenamed. But of these singular verities, some are essentially necessary to the saluation of man, others conditionally. They are contained in the twelue Articles of our Faith, and in diuers writings of the Apostles. For Antichrist hath long since raigned in the Church by diuine permission.

The errors and impurities of Antichrist, are these; that is to say, diuers and innumerable Idolatries against the Commandements of God and of Christ, by a service giuen to the creature, and not to the Creator, visible and inuisible, corporall and spirituall, vnderstanding or sensible, naturall, or made and framed by some art, and vnder the name of Christ, or hee-saints, or shee-saints, or reliques, which creature is serued by faith, by hope,

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hope, by gestures, by prayers, by pilgrimages, by almes-deeds, by offerings and sacrifices of great charge. The which creature they serue, adore, honor after a diuers manner, with songs, orations, solemnities, and celebrations of Masses, vespers, complines, to the selfe-same creatures, with prayer bookes for certaine houres, vigils, feasts, purchasing of grace, which is essentially in one onely God, and in Iesus Christ meritoriously, and is obtained by faith onely, and by the holy Ghost.

For there is no other cause of Idolatry, then the false opinion of grace, of truth, of authority, inuocation, intercession, which this Antichrist hath taken from God, and attributed it to his ceremonies, authorities, the workes of his hands, and to Saints, and to Purgatory. And this iniquity of Antichrist, is directly against the first Article of our Faith, and the first Commandement of the Law.

In like sort, the disorderly loue of the World, which is in Antichrist, is that from whence doe spring all the sinnes and wickednesse that is in the Church, in those that are the Leaders, and Rulers, and Officers thereof, who sinne without controlement against the truth of faith, and the knowledge of God the Father; witnesse Saint Iohn, who saith; *He that sinneth, knoweth not God: for if any man loue the world, the charity of the Father is not in him.* The second iniquity of Antichrist consists in the hope which he giueth of pardon, grace, righteousness, truth, and eternall life; as not being in Christ, or in God by Christ, but in men living and dead, in authorities, ecclesiasticall ceremonies, in benedictions, sacrifices, prayers, and other things aboue mentioned; not by true faith, which brings forth repentance by charity, and a departure from euill, and cleauing to that which

is good. Now Antichrist teacheth vs not to place our hope and confidence in such things, that is to say, regeneration, spirituall confirmation, or communion, the remission of sinnes, sanctification, eternall life; but to hope in his Sacraments, and his wicked Simony, by which the people are abused in such sort, that they make sale of all things, and inuent many ordinances old and new, to bring siluer into their chests, promising that if any man doe this or that, hee shall obtaine grace and life. And this double iniquity is called in Scriptures, adultery and fornication. And therefore such Ministers as leade the brutish people into these errors, are called the Apocalipticall Whore. And this iniquity is against the second Article, and the second and third Commandement.

The third iniquity of Antichrist consisteth in this, that he hath inuented (besides those aboue-named) other false religions and orders, and Monasteries, giuing hope to obtaine grace, by building oratories for Saints; as also by deuout and frequent hearing of the Masse, by the receiuing the Sacrament, by Confession, (though seldome with a contrite heart) by satisfaction, by fastings, and emptying the purse, by professing himselfe a member of the Church of Rome, by making vowes, and giuing themselves to orders of Capouches and Cowles, which against all truth they affirme that men are bound vnto. And this iniquity of Antichrist is directly against the eight Article of our Beliefe. *I beleue in the holy Ghost.*

The fourth iniquity of Antichrist consisteth in this, that notwithstanding hee bee the fourth Beast described by Daniel, and the Apocalipticall whore, hee neuerthelesse adorneh himselfe, with authority, power, dignity,

dignity, offices, Scriptures, and compareth himselfe, and maketh himselfe equall to the true and holy Mother the Church, in which there is saluation Ministerially, and not elsewhere, in which there is the truth of life and Doctrine, and of the Sacraments. For if he should not thus couer himselfe and his wicked Ministers, being knowne for manifest sinners, hee would soone be forsaken and abandoned of euery one. For Emperours, and Kings, and Princes, thinking him to be like to the true and holy mother the Church, they haue loued and endowed him, contrary to the Commandement of God. And this iniquity of Ministers, and subiects, and such as are brought vp in error and sinne, is directly against the ninth Article: *I beleue in the holy Catholike Church.* And thus much touching the first part.

Secondly, as they that are partakers of the onely outward ceremonies ordained by the inuention of men, doe beleue and hope, truely to performe their Pastorall duties and cures, provided onely that they be shauen, like sheepe, and anoynted like walles, and blessed by touching the Booke, and the cup, with their hands, and so publish themselves to haue taken the order of Priesthood as they should: So likewise (as it hath beene sayd before) the people that are subiect vnto them doe communicate by words, by signes, by outward exercises, and by their diuers gestures and actions thinke they participate of the truth it selfe, drawne from thence. And this is against the other part of the ninth Article: *I beleue the Communion of Saints.* It standeth vs therefore vpon to depart from the most wicked Communion of Monkes, whereunto carnall men are drawne, causing them for

couetousnesse to put their trust in things of naught, yea though they bee luxurious and couetous, onely to the end men should giue them, and then they tell them that they participate of their pouerty and of their chastitie.

The fift iniquity of Antichrist consists in this, that he sayneth and promiseth remission of sinnes, to such offenders, as haue no true sorrow and contrition for their sinnes, and cease not to perseuere in their wickednesse: and that in the first place, hee promiseth remission of their sinnes, because of their auricular confession, and humane absolution in their Pilgrimages, and all for money. And this iniquity is against the eleventh Article of our faith: *I beleue the forgiuenesse of sinnes.* For that is in God by authority, in Christ by ministration, Faith, Hope, Charity, Repentance, Obedience to the Word; and in man by participation.

The sixt iniquity is, that they hope euen to their liues end, in the aboue-mentioned iniquities, and especially in extreame Vnction and deuised Purgatory, in such sort that the ignorant and rude people perseuere in their error, by giuing them to vnderstand, that they are absolved from their sinnes, though they neuer depart from them of their owne free wills, but hope thereby to haue forgiuenesse of their sinnes, and life euerlasting. And this iniquity is directly against the eleventh and twelfth Article of our Faith.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of inuented Purgatory.



He Purgatory which diuers Priests and Monkes seeke to aduance and teach as an Article of our Faith, with many lies and fables, is this. They affirme that after this life, and after the Ascension of Christ into heaven, the soules especially of those that shall bee saued, not hauing satisfied in this life for their sinnes, endure sensible paines, and are purged in Purgatory after this life, and that after they are purged, they come out of Purgatory, some sooner, and some later, and some not vntill the Day of Iudgement; which soules, all the faithfull may and ought to helpe after they are departed this life by the band of charity, by Prayers, Fastings, Almes-deeds, and Masses. Touching which Purgatory, to satiate their avarice, many haue inuented diuers vncertaine things; which they haue taught and preached, saying, that such soules are tormented in the said Purgatory, some to the necke, some to the middle; and they say that sometimes, they sit and eate at table, and make bankers, especially at the Feast of all Soules, when the people are offering liberally vpon their Sepulchres. And they say that sometimes they gather the crummes vnder the rich mens tables. By this meanes, and diuers other the like dreames, avarice and Simony is increased and multiplied, their Cloysters aduanced, their sumptuous Temples are built and enlarged, their Altars multiplied beyond

yond measure, and infinite numbers of Monkes and Canons, haue inuented diuers other things touching the deliuerance, and vnbinding the said soules, bringing thereby the Word of God into contempt. Thus the people are strangely mocked and deceiued touching their soules, as also in their substance, inasmuch as they are made to put their trust in things vncertaine, whilest in the meane time the faithfull hide themselves, for when they refuse to preach and teach the said Purgatory, as an Article of their faith, they are cruelly condemned to death and Martired.

It is therefore fitting we should speake of this Purgatory, and plainely giue the world to vnderstand what we thinke thereof.

First therefore we say, that the soules of those that are to be saued, must in the end bee purged from all their pollution, according to the Ordinance of God, as it appeareth in the 21. of the *Reuelation*: *There shall in no wise enter into heauen any thing that defileth, neither what soeuer worketh abomination, or maketh a lye.* Now we know that the Scriptures haue set downe many and diuers meanes to purge those that are in this present life, of all their finnes. But Saint *Peter* telleth vs in the 15. of the *Acts* 9. that faith purifieth the heart, and that faith is sufficient to purge away the euill, without any outward helpe; as appeareth by the thiefe at the right hand of Christ, who beleeuing and confessing his finnes was made worthy of Paradise. The other manner of purging the Spouse of Christ by repentance, is touched in *Esay*, Chap. 1. 16. *Wash yee, and make you cleane, put away the euill of your doings from before mine eyes, cease to doe euill.* And presently after: *Though your finnes be as skarlet, they shall be as white as snow, though*
they

they be red like crimson, they shall be as wooll. In which words the Lord offereth himselfe to all that doe truly repent, according to the manner aboue-mentioned, and they that haue beene sinfull shall be made as white as snow. There is likewise mention made of another kinde of purging of sinne, in the third of Saint *Matthew*, where it is said, *He hath his fanne in his hand, and hee will thorowly purge his floore, and gather his wheate into the garner.* The which words *Chrysostome* expounds of the floore of the Church and the fire of tribulation. And not onely doth the Lord purge by tribulations, but he likewise purifieth his Spouse heere in this life by himselfe; as Saint *Paul* speaketh, *Ephes. 5. 25. Christ hath loued his Church and giuen himselfe for it; That hee might sanctifie and cleanse it, with the washing of water by the Word, that hee might present it to himselfe a glorious Church, not hauing spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should bee holy and without blemish.* Where the Apostle sheweth that Christ hath so loued his Church, that hee would not cleanse it by any other washing, but his owne Blood, and that not so as that it should not bee sufficient but in such a maner, as that there should not remaine therein any vncleannesse, but that it should bee a glorious Church, in such sort that there should bee therein neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any such thing, but that it should bee holy and vndefiled. And this testimony of washing the Spouse of Christ in his Blood, is not onely currant heere vpon earth, but in heauen too, by those that haue obtained the actuall washing, of whom it is said in the *Reuelation*, Chap. 7. *These are they which came out of great tribulation, and haue washed their robes, and made them white in the Blood of the Lambe; Therefore are they before the Throne of God, and*
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serue

serue him day and night. Thus you see how many purgings may be gathered out of the Scriptures, to prooue that they that trauell in this life, are heere purged of their finnes.

That's it!

In the third place, we thinke it a great deale the surer way, that every man doe so liue in this present world, that hee may haue no need afterwards of any purgation. For it is a great deale better to doe good in this present life, then afterwards to hope for an vncertaine helpe. And it is a surer course, that what good a man hopes shall be done vnto him by others after his death, he doe it himselfe whilst he liueth, being a more happy thing to depart a free-man, then to seeke his liberty, after he is bound.

Moreover besides that which hath beene hitherto spoken, we say that there is no place in Scripture to be found, nor amongst the Doctours grounded vpon the Scriptures, that doth make good vnto vs that the faithfull are any way bound by any necessity to beleue, or publikely to confesse, as an Article of their faith, that there is any such place as Purgatory after this life, wherein after the ascension of Christ into Heauen, the soules, especially of those that shall be saued, not hauing satisfied in this life for their finnes, endure sensible paines when they are departed of their bodies, and thereby are purged: of which soules some depart out of Purgatory sooner, some later then others, and some a little before others at the day of Iudgement. And first as touching the Scriptures, no man can prooue it by them. For it is manifest, that if a man shall reade the whole Law, he shall neuer finde therein, any one place of Scripture that bindeth a Christian necessarily to beleue as an Article of his faith, that there is after this life

life, any place called Purgatory, as some doe affirme. And there is no place in the whole Volume of the Booke of God which doth so much as name it, neither was there euer any soule found that hath entred the same Purgatory and came out againe.

There is no man bound therefore to beleue it, or to hold it to be an Article of our faith. For confirmation heereof Saint *Augustine* in his Booke, intituled, *A thousand words*, writes thus: We beleue according to the Catholike faith, and diuine authority, that the Kingdome of heauen is the first place wherein Baptisme is receiued; The second is that wherein such as are excommunicates and strangers to the Faith of Christ, endure euermore torments: As for a third place, we are altogether ignorant of any, neither doe wee finde it in the Scriptures. The same Saint *Augustine* in the same place, vpon these words, *They shall not inherite the kingdome of God*, writeth thus. O my brethren, let no man deceiue himselfe, for there are onely two places and a third is not to be found; For hee that deserueth not to reigne with Christ, shall without all doubt perish with the deuill. And to this purpose, Saint *Chrysostome* writing vpon those words in the 12. by Saint *Matthew*; *The Kingdome of heauen is like vnto a man that is an householder*, saith thus: The man that is the father of the family, is Christ, vnto whom heauen and earth are as a house; but his families are celestially and terrestrially, for whom he buildeth a house with three Chambers, that is, hell, heauen, and earth. The Combatants are they that dwell vpon the earth, the vanquished in hell, and the Conquerours in heauen. Let vs, saith hee, that are in the middle roome, take heed, wee descend not to those that are in hell, but rather

ther mount vpward to those that are in heauen.

By these authorities you may plainly see, that there are onely two certaine places, after the ascension of Christ into heauen, into which the soules departed out of their bodies doe goe, and that there is no third place, neither can it be found in the Scriptures.

And therefore, forasmuch as in the whole Law of God, there is no expresse mention of any such place as Purgatory is, and the Apostles haue giuen vs no instructions touching the same, and the Primatiue Church, gouerned by the Apostles, according to the Gospell, haue left vs no Ordinances or Commandements; but that Pope *Pelagius*, five hundred fiftie eight yeeres after Christ, did ordayne (as wee may reade) that the dead should bee remembered in the Masse, it followeth, that since there is no expresse prooffe thereof in the Law of God, there is no necessity to beleue the sayd Purgatory, as an Article of our faith, or that there is any such place after this life.

But heere is matter of doubt, because men in these dayes, are strangely affected to the helpe and ayde of the dead, notwithstanding that in all the Scripture there be nothing expressely taught, except in the Booke of *Macchabees*, which is no part of the Old Testament, nor Canonically. And that neither Christ nor the Prophets, nor the Apostles, nor the Saints neere their time, haue euer taught to pray for the dead, but haue rather carefully taught that the people that liue vnblessedly shall bee Saints. And therefore answering to the doubt aboue-mentioned, wee say that the principall cause of this doting affection, proceedeth from the deceit, and trumperies, and auarice of the Priests, who

who haue not taught the people as the Prophets of Christ, nor as his Apostles, to liue well, but to offer much, and to place their hope of deliuerance, and happiness, in Purgatory.

CHAP. III.

Of the Inuocation of Saints.

WE are now to speake of prayer vnto Saints, which certaine great Masters, with their followers preach vnto the people, extolling and publishing it with great diligence, as an Article of their Faith; affirming that the Saints that are in their celestiall Countrey, are to be prayed vnto by vs, in the selfe same manner, as the Priests were accustomed to doe, and other of the people by their instruction, enioyning them many other things, as helpe to their Inuocation. By which Inuocation, authorization, and magnification, the people carnally & erroneously beleue it; Imagining that as it is the manner and practice before earthly Kings when they are angry, that such as are not in choller should intercede for them, and pacifie their anger: so the people thinke it is so with God; that is, that the Saints doe appease the wrath of God, when he is angry with sinners.

But wee are not to beleue any such thing; for if it were so, there could be no true conformity betweene the will of the Saints, and the will of God: for it should seeme that the Saints are not angry with those, against whom God is moued to anger. Secondly, by this magnification and inuocation of Saints, the people fall into

Idolatry, putting their trust more in Saints then in God, and seruing them with greater affection then the onely God; which they shew by the effects, by the ornaments of their Altars, which are most precious, by their excellent Musicke, the multiplication of their Tapers, and by other solemnities. By which meanes the simple people are induced to thinke, that the Saints are more mercifull then God, because they free him from damnation, by those prayers they make vnto God, whom God had condemned. Beside this, to maintaine these things, the simple people are taught, that the Saints desire that men should offer oblations vnto them, and take pleasure in their praises, and that they mediate principally for those that offer incense vnto them, and other honours; all which things wee are to abhorre, and carefully to flie.

Of this Inuocation therefore we are now to speake, and to make knowne what our opinion is touching this prayer vnto Saints. And first let vs see what Inuocation is. Inuocation is a desire of the whole vnderstanding, and soule, sent vnto God by the voyce, and by prayer.

Secondly, we know and beleue that the man Christ Iesus, is Mediator betweene God and man, and Aduocate to God the Father, who hath payed for our sinnes, that come vnto God by him, seeing hee euer liueth to make intercession for them. *Heb. 7. 25. No man comes to the Father but by him. And whatsoeuer yee shall aske in my name, that will I doe,* saith he; *Iohn 14. 13. Who giueth to all abundantly, and reproacheth no man; Iam. 1.* He is our Aduocate to God the Father, and hee forgiveth our sinnes. He offereth himselfe vnto vs by all meanes, before we offer our selues vnto him. He is at the doore, and he knockes, that we may open vnto him, he

he shutteth out all Idolatry, being at the right hand of his Father in Heauen, and his will is, that all the faithfull haue him in their mindes, and looke onely vnto him; for all the care of the faithfull must tend vnto Christ by thought and affection, and must imitate him that is aboue. According to that which is said; *If you be risen againe with Christ, seeke the things that are aboue, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God.* He is the doore, by which whosoever shall enter, shall be saued. *No man commeth to the Father, but by me,* saith he.

We beleue in the third place, that the Saints are not proposed vnto vs to worship, but to imitate. Saint Paul saith; *Be ye followers of me, as I am of Christ.* Saint Peter would not suffer himselfe to be worshipped by *Cornelius*, nor the Angell by Saint *Iohn* the Euangelist. And therefore saith Saint *Augustine* in his Booke of true Religion. *O ye Religious, saith he, giue not your selues to the seruice of the dead; for if they haue liued holily, they are not such as seeke for honours, or desire to be serued by vs, but by him, by whom they are illuminated, they reioyce that we are their companions.* And therefore they must be honoured by imitation, and not adored by Religion. All these things duly considered, wee say, that there is not any man borne of other body then Christ, which may be adored, or can be the true Aduocate and Mediator betwixt God and Men, or Intercessor for sinners with God the Father, but he alone; neither is it necessary that they should be inuocated by the prayers and intercessions of the liuing. It is hee that by speciall priuiledge obtaines whatsoeuer he demands for mankind, whom hee hath reconciled by his death. Hee is the one and onely Mediator betwixt God and man, the Aduocate, and Intercessor to God the Father for sinners, and in such

such sort sufficient, that the Father denyeth not any man what he demandeth in his name, but for the loue of him, he heareth those that pray vnto him, or demand any thing at his hands by him. For being neere vnto God, liuing by himselfe, he prayeth alwayes for vs. For it was necessary that we should haue such a soueraigne Sacrificer, as was holy, innocent, without blemish, separated from sinners, and exalted aboue the Heauens, the first Sonne begotten of his Father, which onely Sonne being aboue all men, hath power and authority to sanctifie the other, to pray and to mediate for them. Saint *Augustine* writeth concerning Christ in his 64 *Psalm*, saying; *Thou art the Sacrificer, thou art the Sacrifice, thou art he that offereth, and thou art the offering.* Iesus is not entred into places made with hands, which were figured correspondent to the true, but hee is entred into Heauen it selfe, euen now to appeare for vs before the face of God.

1 *John* 1. 1.

Rom. 8. 33.

Of him it is that Saint *John* saith; *We haue an Advocate with the Father, euen Iesus Christ the righteous.* And Saint *Paul* saith; *That Iesus Christ who dyed for vs, is also risen againe, and sitteth at the right hand of God, making intercession for vs.*

And therefore hee is but a foole that will desire any other Intercessor. For Christ is alwayes liuing, and prayeth to God the Father for vs, and is alwayes ready to succour those he loueth. And therefore if we keepe our selues to that he hath said, we neede not desire any other Saint to be our Mediator, because he is more gentle and more ready to helpe, then any other can be. Adde hereunto that the minde of him that prayeth wandereth, and is confounded with the multitude of Saints to whom he prayes, when the affection is remo-
ued

ued from Christ, and therefore is much weakened, being diuided amongst many. Howsoeuer, many there are that thinke that when the prayer is directed to one onely, a man hath that only one for a Mediator, whereas more giue more spirituall helpe. But the Church would increase a great deale more, if it knew not this multitude of intercessions now inuented. And therefore it is a great folly to forsake the Fountaine of liuing waters, and to goe to troubled waters, and such as are as farre of. This then doth plainly appeare, that a man cannot obtaine any thing of God, but by the Mediator Christ Iesus. In the second place it shall be more expedient to worship Christ among those that are simply men; for hee is a good and benigne Mediator, euen in the highest degree, both in the one and the other extremity. Thirdly, if we keepe our selues vnto his Word, we neede not adresse our selues to other Saints for intermedlers, since that he is more ready to helpe vs, then other Saints, being ordained of God for this purpose, that is, to the end that the intercession might be made by him, that is more mercifull then all others; for hee knowes for whom there is reason he should pray: for hee hath shed his blood for them, which hee will neuer forget, hauing grauen them in the palmes of his hands. Fourthly, in the primitiue Church, their prayers for spirituall aide, were made onely to Christ as a Mediator. Fifthly, then did the Church profit and encrease a great deale more then now it doth in these times, wherein men haue found many intercessions, which are as so many clouds without water, darkening Christ the Sonne of Righteousnesse, who is the true Intercessor. For many expecting spirituall comforts, are forsaken in their vaine hopes. For though so it be that God is iust,

and

and we vniust, and insufficient of our selues, yet it is he that pardoneth our sinnes, both passed and present. For hee gaue himselfe for our redemption, that is to say, he hath been the Sacrifice by which our pardon hath been obtained: God hath sent his Sonne, to the end he might pardon our sinnes, hee is the remedy against sinne, to the end we should not fall into despaire. We must haue recourse to Christ our Aduocate, who continually defendeth our cause, beseeching his Father for vs, whom wee haue not onely for an Aduocate, but for a Iudge too. For the Father hath giuen all iudgement to the Sonne, and consequently, all penitent sinners haue great reason to hope that hee that is our Iudge, is our Aduocate. This faith is grounded vpon Christ, as vpon a strong Rocke, vpon which all the Saints of God haue rested themselves, vntill the man of sinne had power to bring in new intercessions of Saints; which faith all the Saints haue professed liuing here, and vnto this day doe confesse, that they are not saued by oblations, or the intercession of any other God, but by him they haue obtained Heaven; of whom it is said in the *Renelation*, Chap. 5. 9. *Thou art worthy to take the Booke, and to open the seales thereof; for thou wast slaine, and hast redeemed vs to God by thy blood, out of euery kindred, and tongue, and people, and Nation; and hast made vs vnto our God Kings and Priests.* You see how their humility and thankfulness doth still resound vpon the Earth, when they acknowledge that they are entred into that place wherein they are, by his blood, and confesse that they haue receiued all their good by him, and whatsoever they enioy so long as they remaine in this life; that they receiue no good thing, but by their good Mediator and Intercessor Christ Iesus.

CHAP. IIII.

Of Baptisme, and the other Sacraments of the Romish Church.

THe things that are not necessary in the administration of Baptisme, are the Exorcismes, breathings, the signe of the Crosse vpon the forehead and breast of the infant, the salt put into his mouth, spittle into his eares and nostrills, the anoyning of the breast, the Monkes Cowle, the vnction of the Crysome vpon the crowne of his head, and all other things consecrated by the Bishop, as the putting the Waxe candle into his hands, the cloathing him with a white garment, the blessing of the water, and so forth. All these things vsed in the administration of this Sacrament, are not necessary, they neither being of the substance, nor required in the Sacrament of Baptisme, from which things many take occasion of errour and superstition, rather then edification to saluation, and according to the opinion of some Doctours, there is neither power nor profit in them.

Of the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord.

THe eating of the Sacramentall Bread, is the eating of the Body of Christ in a figure, Christ himselfe hauing said, *As oft as yee shall doe this, doe it in remembrance of me:* for if this were not to eate in a figure, Christ should be bound to bee eaten continually; for this

this spirituall eating is almost alwayes necessary; as Saint *Augustine* speaketh, Hee eateth Christ in truth, that beleueth in him. And Christ saith, that the eating is to dwell in him. In the celebration of this Sacrament, these things are profitable; Prayer, Loue, the Preaching of the Word in the vulgar tongue, and other things whatsoever they bee, that are ordained to this purpose, according to the Euangelicall Law, to the end that loue and charity may grow and increase amongst the people. But other things besides the consecration of the Eucharist, as those that the Priests vse in the Masse, or that the Clerke sings to the Queere, from the beginning to the end, and the ornaments which the Priests vse at this present in the Church of Rome, they belong of necessity to the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord.

Of Marriage and Orders.

Prayer and fasting are profitable, when there is any question of the celebration of Matrimony, and the instructions and aduertisements touching the same. But the imposition of hands, and those Ligatures made with the Stole, and other things that are commonly obserued therein, by humane custome, without the expresse Word of God, are not of the substance, nor necessarily required in marriage.

As for Orders, we are to vnderstand by them, that power which is giuen of God vnto man duely to administer to the Church the Word and Sacraments. But we haue nothing in the Scriptures that makes good any such Orders, but onely the custome of the Church. And the letters testimoniall, the anoynting of the hands,

hands, the donation of the seniture and violl into his hands, and other things commonly obserued heerein, without the expresse Word, are not of the substance thereof, nor necessarily required in the taking of Orders.

Of the Crysome or Confirmation.

VWe are now to speake of the Crysome, which at this present is called a Sacrament, hauing no ground for it in the Scriptures; First that it should be consecrated by a Bishop, and made with Oyle of Oliues, and Balsome, applyed to the forehead of the man baptized in the figure of the Crosse, and with these words: *I signe thee with the signe of the Crosse, and confirme thee by the signe of saluation, In the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost*; which is done with imposition of hands, and with white vestments bound to the head: This is that which they call the Sacrament of Confirmation, which was neuer ordained by Christ or his Apostles. For Christ the patterne and president of the whole Church, was not confirmed in his owne person, neither did he require at his Baptisme a Crysome, but the water onely. And therefore this Sacrament cannot be necessary to saluation, whereby a man blasphemeth the Name of God, and is brought in by the motion of the deuill, to the end the people might bee deceiued, and deprived of the faith of the Church, and that he might the rather put his trust and confidence in these solemnities.

Of extreame Vnction.

THe seuenth Sacrament of the Romish Church, is the extreame Vnction of the sicke, which they goe about to prooue by that saying of Saint *Iames*. But we finde not that it hath beene ordained by Christ or his Apostles. For if this corporall Vnction were a Sacrament, as they would haue men beleue, Christ, or his Apostles would not haue beene silent in the manifestation of the execution thereof; which being well considered, we should not dare to hold and confesse, as an Article of our faith, that this Sacrament was instituted by Christ and his Apostles.

Of Fasts.

THere is a two-fold Fast, Spirituall and Corporall. The Spirituall is to abstaine from sinne; The Corporall from meates and drinkes. But a Christian hath liberty to eate at all times, and to fast euery day, provided that he fast not superstitiously, as a vertue of continency.

Note also that there are certaine Fasts, which are not to bee obserued, or commended by the faithfull, but rather to bee abhorred; as the Fasts of the Scribes and Pharises, which are ordained by Antichrist, and smell of Idolatry: The Fasts of Heretikes, and superstitious persons, which are obserued by Enchanters, Sorcerers, Negromancers, and the Fasts dedicated to creatures, not to the Creator, which are not grounded vpon the Law of God: Disorderly Fasts, obserued with delicate viands of highest price, as fish, figges, raysons, almonds, which

which the poore are depriued of, and the rich glut themselues with, whereby the almes is withdrawne from the poore, whereas if they did fast so, as afterwards to feed vpon common diet of lower price, they might the better provide for their families and the poore.

Moreover, Fasts consist not in the abstayning from corporall viands, as if they were vncleane, for all things are cleane to those that are cleane, and we are to refuse nothing that is taken with thanksgiuing, for that is sanctified by the Word of God and by Prayer. All 1. Tim. 4. 4.

these Fasts aboue-mentioned, are reiected and detested by the faithfull, and for the not-observation of these no man is to bee blamed.

FINIS.

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 Of the poor
 which the poor are deprived of, and the rich give
 themselves with, whereby the state is maintained
 from the poor, whereby the rich are kept from
 looking for a common share of lower price, they might
 the state provide for their families and the poor.
 Moreover, this is not in the display of honor
 corporal hands, as if they were vessels for all things
 are the use to these things of care, and we are to rely
 nothing that is taken with thanksgiving, for that is
 sanctified by the Word of God and by Prayer. All things
 these things above-mentioned, are rejected and
 detested by the faithful, and for the
 not objection of these men
 is to be blamed.

FINIS.



